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F D MAURICE'S
EXPERIENCE OF UNITARIANISM
AND ITS PLACE
IN HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT

Submitted for the
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Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

F D MAURICE'S EXPERIENCE OF UNITARIANISM AND ITS PLACE IN HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT

This thesis looks at the Anglican theologian Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72) in the light of Unitarianism, the religious background of his family, with an historical introduction tracing Unitarianism from c.1700-1850. Five biographical perspectives examine (i) Maurice's childhood, suggesting that his concern with the Fatherhood of God, opposition to the penal substitutionary view of the atonement and rejection of original sin are derived from his father's influence; (ii) his progress towards Anglicanism and emotional needs expressed in his novel Eustace Conway; (iii) Maurice's response to Romanticism, indebtedness to the Greek Fathers, the influence of S T Coleridge, Thomas Erskine, and Robert Hall; (iv) friendships with Unitarians, especially Henry Solly; (v) work in London as hospital chaplain, Christian Socialist and educationist. Part Three looks at aspects of Maurice's theology and assesses debt to Unitarianism. His teaching was undergirded by belief in God as a loving Father; there was a life-long search for human unity grounded in the unity of God; a view of atonement stressing Christ's eternal union with the Father and mankind; humanity seen in Christ, but drawing on the Unitarian insistence on the potential of all human life; and a concept of eternal life which precluded dogmatic statements as to the fate of the wicked. Maurice's teaching on the church, sacraments and ministry is compared with the mid-nineteenth century Unitarian position. Maurice perceived the Church of England in terms so personal that Unitarians wondered how he could remain an Anglican, but the central place Maurice gave to Christ as executant of the Father's Will and Head and Centre of humanity meant Unitarianism was not an option. Maurice is a channel for a Unitarian contribution to contemporary thinking on incarnation, the nature of God, and inter-faith relations.

D Young

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ABBREVIATIONS

WORKS BY F D MAURICE

AA	The Acts of the Apostles
CAF	The Church a Family
CGE	The Conflict of Good and Evil in our day
DS	The Doctrine of Sacrifice
EC	Eustace Conway
EJ	The Epistles of St John
FB	The Friendship of Books
FW	Dialogues on Family Worship
GJ	The Gospel of St John
HM	The Ground and Object of Hope for Mankind
KC	The Kingdom of Christ
KH	The Kingdom of Heaven
LA	Lectures on the Apocalypse
LIS	Lincoln's Inn Sermons
LW	Learning and Working
MMP	Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy
PB	The Prayer Book and the Lord's Prayer
PK	The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament
PL	The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament
RW	The Religions of the World
SCC	Sermons preached in Country Churches
SM	Social Morality
TC	The Conscience
TE	Theological Essays
UNT	Lectures on the Unity of the New Testament
WR	What is Revelation?

* * *

OTHER SOURCES

CUL Cambridge University Library

DNB Dictionary of National Biography

DWL Dr Williams's Library

EETA H McLachlan: English Education under the Test Acts (1931)

ERA James Martineau: Essays, Reviews and Addresses

Hours James Martineau: Hours of thought on sacred things

JEH Journal of Ecclesiastical History

ND James Martineau: National Duties

TUHS Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to consider the life and thought of F D Maurice (1805-72) in the light of Unitarianism, the religious standpoint of his parents and grandparents. It explores the Unitarian contribution to the development of Maurice's religious thought, and draws attention to aspects of belief and practice common to Maurice and his Unitarian contemporaries. This thesis argues that Unitarianism played a much more crucial part in Maurice's life and thought, in terms of both growth and ultimate content, than has been recognised in any previous study.

This is not to say that the Unitarian contribution has gone entirely unnoticed by other students of Maurice. Christensen, who, in The Divine Order, has given us the most complete exposition of Maurice's theology, elsewhere refers to Maurice's anticipation of Martineau by his having "engrafted the religious intentions of Unitarianism on his own romantic-idealist conception of life".¹ McClain, who studied Maurice's ethical teaching in the setting of his personal relationships, says that "the Unitarian influence of his father was a matter of lifelong importance" to Maurice.² Wood, in 1950, and Wolf, thirty years later, both offer biographical sketches of Maurice which see Unitarianism principally from the point of view of his youthful dissatisfaction.³ Vidler, Ramsey and Merlin Davies almost entirely neglect Maurice's Unitarian links.⁴ Wigmore-Beddoes, on the other hand, makes numerous references to the work of Maurice in his study of the affinity between Unitarians and Broad Churchmen.⁵

This study offers some fresh perspectives on Maurice's ambivalent relationship with Unitarianism. Lonergan has said that perspectivism

recognises "the inexhaustible complexity of historical reality".⁶ The historian's portrayal of events and individuals is never more than approximate, and in the present case, a picture of Maurice appears which is different from but not incompatible with those that have emerged in other studies.

The thesis has been divided into three broad areas which provide an historical introduction, followed by biographical and theological perspectives on Maurice's experience of Unitarianism.

Chapter One covers the emergence of Unitarianism in the eighteenth century and its development up to the middle of the nineteenth.

Dominating the first period is the figure of Joseph Priestley with whom F D Maurice's father Michael briefly worked as a junior co-pastor. The progress of Unitarianism during Maurice's own lifetime saw the rise of the transcendental party led by James Martineau.

Five chapters are devoted to the biographical perspective. The life of Michael Maurice and his lasting influence on his only son receive particular attention in Chapter Two. The story is told in some detail because F D Maurice believed that God reveals Himself in the setting of the family, and the religious truths which the child Maurice absorbed in a Unitarian household underpinned the work of the adult theologian. Then follows (Chapter Three) an exploration of the growth of Maurice's personal faith in the incarnate Son of God which involved his transition from Unitarianism to the Church of England. Romanticism was having its impact on Maurice - as indeed upon the younger Unitarians - at the same time. The discussion in Chapter Four deals with Romanticism, and

evaluates the influence upon Maurice of such figures as S T Coleridge and Thomas Erskine, and the way in which earlier Unitarian foundations were strengthened, modified, or discarded.

Maurice's personal relationships with a number of leading Unitarians and Unitarian sympathisers provide the biographical perspective of Chapter Five. There is evidence to support the suggestion that Maurice's deep understanding of the Unitarian point of view, and his readiness to help individual Unitarians on their spiritual pilgrimages make him unique amongst mid nineteenth century Anglican clergy. The social involvement of Maurice and the Unitarians, which is discussed in Chapter Six is the product of what they understood by God's Fatherly love towards His creation. The work of Maurice as a pastor to the sick poor of London, as Christian Socialist and as a pioneer of adult education is examined against the background of Unitarian responses to similar challenges. To preach a gospel of spiritual fellowship and practical co-operation to a society conceived as an organic whole was seen by Maurice and his Unitarian contemporaries as an urgent task facing the mid century church.

Maurice and his Unitarian experience from a theological perspective occupies the next two chapters of this thesis. The method followed in Chapter Seven is to present five principal theological characteristics of Maurice - his teaching on God as Father, divine and human unity, the atonement, the dignity of man, and eternal life. In each case, Unitarian teaching on the same subjects is outlined, and note taken of the similarity of viewpoint and possible indebtedness of Maurice to Unitarianism. Maurice and the Unitarians on the church, the sacraments and the ministry is separately treated in Chapter Eight.

The concluding chapter of this thesis (a) assesses the ongoing effects of Maurice's accommodation of Unitarian insights within his unique understanding of Anglicanism; and (b) calls attention to the distinctly Unitarian tone of much of today's theological discussion, distinguishing between those elements for which Maurice has been a specific channel, and those which have clear but largely unacknowledged direct Unitarian precedent.

NOTES

1. T Christensen, Origin and History of Christian Socialism 1848-54 (Aarhus, 1962), p.22.
2. F M McClain, Maurice: Man and Moralist (London, 1972), p.3.
3. H G Wood, Frederick Denison Maurice (Cambridge, 1950), pp.25-29;
W J Wolf (editor) The Spirit of Anglicanism - Hooker, Maurice, Temple (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.52-53.
4. A R Vidler, The Theology of F D Maurice (London, 1948); A M Ramsey, F D Maurice and the Conflicts of Modern Theology (Cambridge, 1948);
W Merlin Davies, An Introduction to F D Maurice's Theology (London, 1964). Vidler's book was published in the USA in 1948 under the title Witness to the Light; it reappeared in a revised form in 1966 with the title F D Maurice and Company.
5. D G Wigmore-Beddoes, Yesterday's Radicals - a study of the Affinity between Unitarianism and Broad Church Anglicanism in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, 1971), passim.
6. B Lonergan, Method in Theology (London, 1971), pp.214-220, 246.

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

Unitarianism from the early eighteenth century to 1850

Among the strands which come together to make up the unique personality of F D Maurice is a profound historical sense. In one of his social morality lectures he criticises Hobbes and Locke for being unhistorical, trying to imagine "what men might do and be if they chanced to come into existence without fathers".¹ Human relationships in the family and in the nation occupy a fundamental position in Maurice's theology. If we are in any degree to share Maurice's point of view we must appreciate that he was powerfully moved by historical events felt in a peculiarly personal way. In an autobiographical letter of 1840 he testified to the strength of the influences drawn from his personal background:

"I believe some of the earliest impressions I received in my life, which most people would think, and I myself often thought, were of a wrong kind, requiring to be especially counteracted by other thoughts, have yet on the whole exercised a most beneficial influence over me, and have determined more than any other, the tenor of my life, so far as it has been consistent or right. Doctrines about liberty of conscience, the unity of God and such like, which I may feel to have been most crude and wrong, have yet had such a strong determining influence over my mind and character that all feelings and truths which have come since may be said to have adapted themselves to them, and made them more efficient, even while they counteracted them".²

Maurice was born in Trafalgar year, the halfway point in the war with France that overshadowed the opening of the century as it emerged from that great revolution in France which dominated European life and thought for more than a generation. His father was a Unitarian minister, a member of a church, which, almost to a man, had welcomed that revolution. Having enjoyed the religious freedom won for them in the previous century and in the opening decades of the eighteenth, they looked to the American and French revolutions as beacons in the struggle for political

emancipation.

F D Maurice's family background on both sides was Dissenting - predominantly that Arminianism of the head which in the hands of liberal Presbyterians moved gradually through Arianism to the distinctly Unitarian ethos into which Maurice was born. They came to this position via John Locke and those Latitudinarians who had rationalised their religion in terms of a Newtonian cosmology. Dutch and Scottish universities and the Dissenting academies in which Maurice's forebears were educated played a key role in mediating those influences. Maurice's family background on both sides was well-to-do and typical of the solid middle class which made up mid-eighteenth century urban Presbyterianism. They were not the sort of people who responded to the preaching of Whitefield or the Wesleys, that great appeal to the hearts of the people which we know as the Evangelical Revival. Though Wesley and Maurice belonged to different centuries and it is not the concern of this thesis to compare them, it is not without significance that personal faith, a religion of the heart, which so much marked Wesley's preaching as he reacted against the cold rationalism of his day, finds a reflection in Maurice's own search for personal faith and a desire to attain "this heart truth".³ Maurice's Dissenting forefathers were vitally concerned with liberty of conscience and the overriding religious belief of his father was in a loving Father-God and the implications of that conviction for the life of man. F D Maurice freely and gratefully acknowledged an ancestry that contributed positively to his life and thought.

The Unitarian⁴ denomination into which Maurice was born was created in the closing decades of the eighteenth century by the coming together of those English Presbyterian⁵ congregations which had not been seriously influenced by Evangelicalism (with a movement towards Congregationalism), and disaffected Anglicans who looked in vain for relief from subscription.⁶ Neither party willingly found themselves outside the Church of England. The Presbyterians were descended (chiefly through strong family ties) from those Puritans who, led by Richard Baxter (1615-91),⁷ had looked in the previous century for comprehension within a national church. The Unitarians who followed these unwilling exiles remained reluctantly nonconformist, and well into the nineteenth century many hoped for the creation of a national Catholic Church in which they could express their faith free of creeds or other forms of subscription. Little more than a century elapsed between the great ejection that followed the Act of Uniformity in 1662 and the foundation of the first explicitly Unitarian church in Essex street, London. Theophilus Lindsey, its founder, had been an exemplary Anglican parish priest for the previous thirty years and his intention was to provide a relief church. Significantly, he declined invitations to minister amongst liberal nonconformists in Liverpool or Norwich. He hoped his forms of worship might lead to liturgical reformation in the national church, and when he looked for a successor he chose a former Lincolnshire clergyman rather than a Dissenter. Worshippers at Essex street used Lindsey's revision of the Book of Common Prayer and there is evidence elsewhere of the "enduring tenacity of the Anglican tradition" amongst Unitarians.⁸ Echoes of this desire for a comprehensive national church with forms of common worship can be found throughout the works of Maurice.

Lindsey and other members of the Church of England who joined him at Essex street, together with those Arian Dissenters who were moving out of traditional Presbyterianism, had all been profoundly influenced by the works of Isaac Newton and John Locke and the whole idea of rationalism. The eighteenth century gave primacy of place to reason and the distinctly Christian revelation (where it was allowed at all) took second place, restricted in scope as reason interpreted it.⁹ Behind the rationalism lay the teaching of the Latitudinarians of the seventeenth century and especially the seminal thinkers collectively known as the Cambridge Platonists.

Newton and Locke

In 1687 the intellectual and religious world had been shaken by Newton's Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica. The movements of heavenly bodies could be explained by the theory of gravitation and demonstrated by mathematics.

"The regularity of nature impressed the men of this time as it had impressed no previous generation," wrote Maurice. "The Copernican doctrine had burst upon them no longer as speculation, but as a truth".¹⁰

Men were fascinated by the prospect of an orderly universe whose laws were determined by mechanical cause and effect. The Newtonian cosmology put forward a Divine Authorship, for all was "subject to the dominion of One",¹¹ but the Oneness of the Divine Being had its effects on the ensuing theological debate. There was an idealism about Newton's view of the universe which (itself reflecting a Platonic vision) is re-echoed in Maurice's "the order which God created is very good. The order which He preserves and upholds is very good. There was no flaw in it before man fell, there is no flaw in it since man fell".¹² Again, there was an idealism in the Newtonian view of the natural order and man which emerges

in the peculiarly Mauricean standpoint:

"I am able to regard the whole universe as very good, even as it was when it came forth at the call of the divine Word; I am able to declare that humanity, standing in that divine Word, is still made in the image of God, as He declared that it was; and that there is no one faculty of the human soul, no one sense of the human body, which is not good, and blessed, and holy in God's sight".¹³

The vision of Clement of Alexandria¹⁴ of the whole of creation as the work of a benevolent Creator is to be seen in both Newton and Maurice. Newton was a profoundly religious man who devoted enormous labour to proving the authority of the Bible,¹⁵ but his concept of religion was essentially of a high morality in which the Christian man's duty lay in obeying the Author's commands as taught and exemplified by Jesus Christ, Newton may therefore be viewed as a discreet Arian. But the question to emerge as the eighteenth century wore on towards the nineteenth was whether the Newtonian explanation of the universe might not stand without a divine authorship; certainly it appeared to function without the author's dynamic intervention. Another emerging problem concerned the very affirmation of God's benevolence: what then of Christianity's special claims about salvation, and what of those outside the church? The exalted place given to reason in the thought of the eighteenth century had been anticipated by the Cambridge Platonists with their recurrent theme, "the spirit of a man is the candle of the Lord; lighted by God, and Lighting us to God".¹⁶ But the view of Griffiths¹⁷ that in the hands of Locke and his successors this spiritual conception was steadily vulgarized as reason rather than any form of external authority, church or creed, became the whole basis of religion, is not entirely correct. For the rationalists of the eighteenth century, Scripture and Reason went hand in hand to form the two pillars of faith.

Maurice devoted to Locke considerable space in his Moral and Metaphysical

Philosophy and saw him as the starting point of modern philosophy and very English in his faults and virtues:¹⁸

"We cannot do better than recollect the titles of his books if we wish to know what inquiries were occupying all men, consciously or unconsciously, during the fifty years that followed his death. We cannot do better than try to understand the tone of his mind in its strength and weakness, if we would know what was to be the tone of these years generally, and what was to be the reaction against it".¹⁹

Maurice's appreciation of Locke's Essay on Toleration was grounded on the shared assumption that the truths of God would show themselves as men used their reason to pursue their experiments unchecked, "vigorously and in all directions". To insist upon regulation by human authority "as impious."²⁰ As Maurice realised, with considerable regret, it was the "loose, popular impression" about Locke's doctrine of human reason that resulted in a feeling spreading through society "that experience was in general the only root of knowledge, that you were not to believe much which you could not establish by its evidence".²¹ From this position there quite naturally developed a concern among theologians to establish the evidence that could reasonably be accepted as proof of Christianity: though it comes at the very end of the century, no work more epitomizes this concern than William Paley's The Evidences of Christianity (1794). This deep concern of the age for the application of human judgement in matters of religion (and conversely, its distrust of enthusiasm) arises in part from the religious controversies and persecutions that marked the second half of the seventeenth century. Men were tired both of dogmatism and the wild enthusiasm of the sects.²² The rationalists of the eighteenth century shared Whichcote's view that "the good nature of a heathen is more God-like than the furious zeal of a Christian".²³ The Unitarianism that developed from this embryo provided, as Maurice perceived, "a deliverance from the strongest intellectual confusions....

(and) to those who disliked extremes, a convenient refuge from the difficulties of belief, and the dreariness of infidelity".²⁴ There was a willingness to settle down to a common sense view of religion, supported by man's sense of achievement which resulted from scientific advances. Natural reason provided man with sufficient religious insight; the Bible confirmed what man had already discovered, but did not provide a separate and indispensable revelation. Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding (1690), in which he began to work out the differences between knowledge and opinion and to indicate possible boundaries, became the text-book of the century. But when he employed his empirical method to establish the truths of Scripture, typically by examining it text by text, it was soon evident that Locke could not go far in proving particular Christian doctrines. His own Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures (1695) showed that the essentials of the Christian faith could be reduced to accepting Jesus as the Messiah. Christianity was not to be overthrown, but it was to be reduced to its essentials, which to Locke meant its ethical essentials. This reductionism, which was to become a recurring theme of the liberal tradition, valued the Christian heritage and did all it could to hold it in tandem with the rationalist position. Locke and his Deist disciples such as Toland and Tindal were morally serious. They looked for a rational way to reconcile the contradictions of Scripture with Newton's Divine Unity. They wondered how popular atonement theories and claims about an exclusive Christian salvation could be squared - without recourse to the supernatural - with the concept of a loving Father who wills good for all His creation. These questions continued to exercise the minds of Unitarians and others of the liberal school until the mid-nineteenth century. As we shall see, they provided the material for the

tension between Maurice's adopted Anglicanism and his native Unitarian upbringing.

Locke's influence on the rising Unitarian church would be hard to over-estimate. From the first decades of the eighteenth century he was read in all the liberal Dissenting academies and held his place in the education of Dissenters well into the nineteenth.²⁵ Gradually the theology of the Presbyterians fused the scripturalism of the old Puritans with the Lockian philosophy and out of this amalgam appeared the distinctly Unitarian form of liberal theology.²⁶ With their deeply rooted conviction in the Unity of God, the Messiahship of Jesus and the sufficiency of Scripture interpreted by reason, Unitarians of the Priestley-Belsham school became the religious heirs of Newton and Locke. An acceptance of the Messiahship of Jesus remained a central tenet of Christianity to Priestleyan Unitarians. As late as 1862, Birmingham New Meeting (successors to Priestley's congregation of the 1780's), called their new Gothic chapel the Church of the Messiah. In the childhood home of Maurice this heritage showed itself in the simple criticism that accompanied the reading of the Bible,²⁷ and in discovering what one of the children later described as "a system so flattering to the pride of human reason".²⁸

Clarke and Whiston

No contemporary Anglican theologian had so much influence among the Presbyterians as they moved towards Unitarianism as Samuel Clarke (1675-1729) who attempted to present the doctrine of the Trinity - a subject which had occupied theologians for several decades - on Biblical grounds alone, interpreted according to the current philosophy. The result was

his very influential Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity (1712).

Clarke was one of the ablest theologians of his time, and his Boyle lectures of 1704-5 had made a notable contribution to the defence of the traditional position during the Deistic controversy. He seemed to be marked out for a high place in the Establishment, and became a chaplain to Queen Anne. But, as his book on the Trinity was soon to prove, Clarke's mind was uneasy on a number of topics.²⁹ It attempted to demonstrate the truth of the doctrine of the Trinity in Biblical terms alone, and to this end he minutely examined 1,251 New Testament texts. The conclusion he reached was not the orthodox one, yet neither was it truly Arian, though Maurice felt that "the Arian hypothesis was the one into which he slid almost inevitably".³⁰ Clarke's conclusions were that the Father only is supreme God to whom alone unconditional worship could be offered. Christ existed from eternity, but was the subordinate being, to be worshipped only as a mediator. There was, he concluded, no Scriptural authority at all for the worship of the Holy Spirit, a second subordinate being.³¹ Clarke's book gave rise to a pamphlet war and the Lower House of Convocation censured various passages. In view of the storm and widespread condemnation Clarke had every reason to expect serious disciplinary consequences, but he submitted to the bishops an adroitly worded defence and proceedings against him stopped.³²

Prior to this controversy, the orthodox position had already been vigorously challenged by Clarke's friend, the learned but eccentric William Whiston (1667-1752). In 1703 he succeeded Newton as Lucasian professor of mathematics at Cambridge, having previously been Newton's deputy. Whiston felt that his mission was to restore Christianity to its

primitive state, and considered Arianism rather than Athanasianism closer to the Church's earliest belief. He described his position as Eusebianism, preached this doctrine from the pulpit, and omitted from the liturgy those parts which he thought corrupt. In 1715 he founded a Society for Promoting Primitive Christianity, supported by Thomas Emlyn (1663-1741), the first minister in England publicly to adopt the name Unitarian. He contributed to the eschatological debate with a firm denial of eternal punishment, which led to suspension by his bishop and banishment from Cambridge by the University.³³

Clarke and Whiston regarded themselves as conservative Bible scholars, interpreting Scripture in the light of reason. Both had a considerable following among Presbyterians, but Clarke's theological impact was the greater. Some of Whiston's liturgical revisions and suggestions about Church practices, largely ignored in his own day, have since become commonplace.³⁴ Clarke's work on the doctrine of the Trinity had its imitators, and the eminent Hebraist, John Taylor, minister of the Octagon Chapel, Norwich, published The Scripture doctrine of Original Sin in 1740 and The Scripture doctrine of Atonement in 1751.

Genesis of liberal Presbyterianism

The rise of Arianism among the Presbyterians owes a great deal to their custom of sending their more able divinity students to the universities of Leyden and Utrecht.³⁵ Holland was the cradle of liberal Protestantism, and distinctly Socinian doctrines emanating from the Dutch centres of learning had been coming into England from the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Holland was the source too of the Arminian teaching that powerfully influenced the emergent Unitarianism

at the end of the eighteenth century. Many dissenting students were also moving on from their own academies to the Scottish universities, and especially Glasgow, where the moral philosopher Francis Hutcheson (1694-1747) and the theologian William Leechman (1706-1785) taught a liberal theology which gradually resulted in the majority of their students adopting and spreading views with a distinctly Arminian tone, and eventually Arian in doctrine. In considering the atmosphere in the Dutch and Scottish universities it is important to note how, as a result of Locke and latitudinarianism, views about man were changing, and there was to some extent a shift of attention from the divine to the human. In 1743, Leechman was accused by the Glasgow presbytery of having laid "too little stress upon the merits of the intercession of the Saviour".³⁶ There was a vital concern with moral righteousness - an inheritance from the Cambridge Platonists, who, like Locke, had their links with Holland.³⁷ This shift of emphasis was detected in the preaching of the men educated in the academies and foreign universities. Thus, some of the congregation at the Old Meeting at Great Yarmouth where Michael Maurice was later to work, complained in 1732 about their minister, Ralph Milner (a product of Bolton academy). In his sermons doctrines that exalted God and humbled men, such as the "utter impotency of the fallen creature to be its own saviour" had either not been at all insisted upon or so very slightly that there was little satisfaction.³⁸

Two Exeter ministers, Joseph Hallett and James Peirce, both educated in Holland, played a critical part in the rise of Arianism. Hallett conducted an academy where Arian views were held and discussed, and his son, a student for the ministry, carried on a correspondence with Whiston.³⁹ Clarke's book on the Trinity was read with satisfaction by

the students.⁴⁰ Peirce was a close friend of Whiston. Doctrinal disputes seriously affected the church lives of the Exeter dissenters as the word spread that Hallett and Peirce did not believe in the divinity of Christ. In 1718 Peirce was asked to state his position before a local assembly. He maintained his belief in Christ's divinity, though admitted he saw Him as subordinate to the Father. Peirce and Hallett were excluded from their pulpits, but had sufficient support in their congregations to form a new meeting. During the controversy, advice had been sought from some of the London ministers but they had been reluctant to send an answer and in the meantime the two Exeter ministers had been expelled. The Salters' Hall Conference called to settle the issue produced a dramatic result which divided English Dissent into those who were prepared to sign a Trinitarian declaration (afterwards known as Subscribers) and those who, while claiming belief in the Trinity, declined to subscribe to a document framed by human authority (afterwards known as Non-Subscribers).⁴¹ Whiston described the Salters' Hall outcome as a public declaration for Christian liberty.⁴² Fears that the Non-Subscribers would move swiftly from this liberal position through Arianism to Unitarianism were justified, and there is no doubt that the Conference signalled the end of the old Presbyterianism. But it must also be borne in mind that Subscribers and Non-Subscribers alike were agreed on many points of doctrine - the Salters' Hall issue was concerned with the idea of subscription itself. The Non-Subscribers felt that a basic principle of religion was at stake - the inadmissibility of human formulations. The Trinitarian test imposed at Exeter in 1719 was removed and by the middle of the century one leading London minister, John Barker, could claim to be the only Calvinist and Presbyterian in the city.⁴³

The Dissenting academies

Of all Dissenting institutions - the chapels apart - the academies were the most illustrious. They were necessary for the education of Dissenters because it was impossible to Matriculate at Oxford, or take a degree at Cambridge, without subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles. The part played in the spread of Arian theology by the Dissenting academies was central to the development of liberal Presbyterianism, as the Exeter episode indicates. Joseph Priestley, who received part of his education at Daventry academy, said that the general plan of studies was "exceedingly favourable to free enquiry", and when he joined the staff of Warrington academy in 1761 he found that all three of the other tutors were Arians.⁴⁴

It was as this transformation from orthodoxy to Unitarianism was reaching its zenith among the Presbyterians that F D Maurice's father began his training for the ministry, entering Hoxton academy in 1782.⁴⁵ The majority of the academies had ministerial students and men destined for secular careers studying side by side, but the four-year course at Hoxton was for theological students only.⁴⁶ His teachers were Dr Samuel Morton Savage (1721-91),⁴⁷ Dr Abraham Rees (1743-1825) and Dr Andrew Kippis (1725-95).⁴⁸ Savage taught theology and was a moderate Calvinist whose liberal spirit was clearly caught by his pupil Michael. Rees - who at the same time was minister of the Old Jewry meeting house, London - was an Arian, while Kippis was well known as a Socinian. In 1784 Kippis resigned and the academy dissolved the following year on Savage's retirement. The more orthodox students migrated to Daventry academy, while three remaining students, markedly more radical in their outlook,

entered the newly-founded Hackney College: Michael Maurice, John Rowe and William Broadbent.

The spirit of free enquiry at the Dissenting academies did not always satisfy the denominational trustees whose funds supported many of the theological students, and the trusts themselves imposed doctrinal tests. Hackney College was intended to counteract these denominational limitations. There was generous financial support and every expectation that it would provide a comprehensive and liberal education in the metropolis. The optimism that had characterised the gradual liberalization of Presbyterian theology through the first part of the century now reached its climax just as it was being eclipsed by the events in France in 1789. Richard Price, at the opening ceremony, insisted that there were no "limits beyond which knowledge and improvement cannot be carried". Nothing was very important except an honest mind, nothing fundamental except righteous practice and a sincere desire to know and do the will of God.⁴⁹ Priestley and Price together taught the early Unitarian denomination the value of social progress, personal liberty, and toleration in matters of faith. Price's emphasis on the role of education as mankind progressed inevitably along a divinely-ordered path was echoed in the schoolmaster-minister career of Michael Maurice and in the life of F D Maurice, which combined an emphasis upon God as the Divine Educator with the practical role of teacher and pioneer of adult education.

Michael Maurice's teachers at Hackney were Rees and Kippis, who had come with him from Hoxton, Richard Price and Hugh Worthington. Though Price's connection with the college was brief (he resigned in the second year) he

brought it considerable prestige. Michael Maurice was certainly among his pupils. The best known member of staff (after Michael Maurice's time) was Priestley, and its most famous student William Hazlitt.⁵⁰

The high hopes for the college which Price shared with the founders were not to be realised. Ten members of the committee belonged to the Revolution Society, which though established to commemorate the Glorious Revolution of 1688, was becoming in the popular mind to be more and more linked with revolution in America and France. When Thomas Paine joined the students for a Revolution dinner in 1792 it was the beginning of the end. There had been a notable 'lack of seriousness' in religious matters in several dissenting academies by this time,⁵¹ and at Hackney the enforcement of any kind of discipline met fierce opposition, and attendance at worship was largely abandoned. Open disputes between staff and lack of financial support eventually forced Hackney to close. In attempting to understand the character of Michael Maurice it is important to appreciate that he chose the distinctly liberal atmosphere of Hackney rather than move from Hoxton to the more orthodox academy at Daventry, and that at a formative stage in his life he became closely acquainted with the men who created early nineteenth century Unitarianism. The emphasis on freedom of enquiry and radicalism in politics remained with him throughout his long life.

Relief from subscription

Concern about subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles goes back well into the eighteenth century. One of the facts that had emerged at the time of Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity controversy was that Arian clergy made a 'pro forma' declaration only. Waterland⁵² had

expressed concern about this laxity and maintained that the Church expected subscribers to strictly observe the usual sense of the words as intended by the compilers and by those who imposed the Articles.

The desire for relief was revived in 1749 when a former student at Carmarthen academy, John Jones, now an Anglican clergyman, published Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England. He proposed a new translation of the Bible and amendments to the liturgy. The response was generally critical, but it was defended by Francis Blackburne (1705-87) in An Apology for the authors of the Free and Candid Disquisitions (1751). The movement was accelerated in 1766 when Blackburne (now Archdeacon of Cleveland) published anonymously a deeply influential work called The Confessional. He investigated the origin and development of the use of human confessions of faith as tests of orthodoxy, contrasted with the use of the Bible as the sole authority, and concluded that compulsory subscription should be abolished. Two years later Francis Stone, an Anglican clergyman with Arian views, proposed that a society should be formed to secure from Parliament the abolition of subscription. He met with Blackburne and others at the Feathers Tavern in the Strand during 1771 and a petition was drawn up and circulated among the clergy. Despite strenuous canvassing, fewer than 250 clergy signed, though it was widely believed that more would have done so but for fears of loss of preferment or other material benefits. In 1771 Parliament rejected the petition by 217 votes to 71. A further attempt made in 1773 proved just as unsuccessful. The widely accepted view that 1688 had settled things very satisfactorily for the established church made change of any kind exceedingly difficult. Nevertheless, the movement for relief made a distinct contribution to the growth of

Unitarianism since it was an indication of the liberal atmosphere prevailing amongst some groups of churchmen, and thus encouraged those individuals who were exploring new ways of worshipping God.

Essex Street Chapel

The chief organiser of the defeated petition was the Vicar of Catterick, Theophilus Lindsey (1723-1808), son-in-law of Francis Blackburne and a key figure in the development of Unitarianism. Deeply stirred by the resignation of William Robertson, Lindsey became a thorough-going Unitarian during the 1760's, apparently accepting "the pure humanity of our Lord" without ever having passed through the intermediate stages of Arianism or Socinianism.⁵³ Though encouraged to retain his living and continue the protest from within the Church, he resigned, sold his furniture and books, and moved to London. He rented a former auction room in Essex street and opened it for services on specifically Unitarian principles. His primary intention was to provide a relief chapel⁵⁴ for Anglicans, who certainly supported him in small numbers in Essex street and elsewhere,⁵⁵ but in retrospect the opening of the chapel marked the beginning of organised Unitarianism in England. Lindsey placed great importance on what he considered purity in religious practice, and he reduced worship to a strict patrolatry. He denied that Jesus "can hear and help us" as the Duke of Grafton, Lindsey's greatest convert, maintained.⁵⁶ He thought worship of Christ idolatrous, and condemned it without qualification. Thus he went further than either Arians or Socinians, who had simply wanted worship of Christ to be reduced to a subordinate position.

If Lindsey provided the infant Unitarian Church with a code of religious

practice based on his own revision of the Prayer Book, his friend and co-worker Joseph Priestley provided it with a theology. Lindsey and Priestley had first met in 1769 at the home of Blackburne, and an intimate friendship grew up between them.⁵⁷ In Joseph Priestley, undoubtedly the greatest nonconformist of his era, eighteenth century rationalism, now become under Hartley's influence, fiercely determinist, reached its peak. The thesis of his most influential theological work History of the Corruptions of Christianity (1782) was that the primitive church's belief had been unitarian and all later departures from that doctrine were corruptions. Elsewhere, Priestley maintained that Jesus had the frailties - moral as well as physical - of a human being, and that he was the son of Joseph and Mary. Though violently attacked for his political views, Priestley moved with ease within an educated circle, epitomising the views of many educated men of his day whose religious opinions estranged them from popular religion. With Priestley, a thorough-going acceptance of the doctrines of Newton and Locke, undergirded by a philosophy of necessarianism derived from David Hartley (whose writings Priestley revered only second to Scripture), resulted in a sharply reduced and material religion. What mattered was the testimony of the senses, the facts, as Priestley described them, and this testimony can be summarised (in its Christian aspect) as a conviction of the Messiahship of Jesus, proved by the factual evidence of prophecy and miracles. Above all, Priestley placed his faith in a benevolent God.

Michael Maurice worked alongside Priestley for a year at the Gravel Pit Chapel, Hackney, and this view of a benevolent God-Teacher is reflected in an unpublished 'prayer for one in bodily weakness' in which human life is seen as a training ground and the Gospel as "the light to our feet and

a lamp to guide us in the journey of life". Confidence is expressed in the Father's benevolent intentions and he is besought to "enable us whilst confined in this state of probation to live as candidates for everlasting felicity".⁵⁸ The personal influence of Priestley on Michael Maurice was cut short in 1794, following the renewed agitation against him because of his unpopular political views. Three years earlier he had been driven from Birmingham;⁵⁹ now he left England, and for the remainder of his life lived in the United States. He had given to Unitarianism a vigorous, not to say aggressive, leadership and in the early period of the war with France had indicated that radical theology and politics were interwoven.

Meanwhile, the number of avowedly Unitarian churches was steadily growing. In 1789 there were only two in London; by 1810 there were a score. The 1851 Census shows 229 Unitarian places of worship in England and Wales (with, at most, 30,000 active members), compared with 2,789 Baptist and 3,244 Independent congregations. Lindsey's influence had been quiet but persuasive, with a steady emphasis on Christian life and character rather than the propagation of sectarian doctrine. He retired from Essex street in 1793 and died in 1808. He was succeeded by John Disney, formerly vicar of Swinderby, who had resigned from the Church of England when he became "convinced that many doctrines received as true by the Church of England, in her Articles and Liturgy, were not only in no agreement, but in direct contradiction to what appeared to be the Word of God". Like Lindsey, he believed that addressing prayer to Jesus was "in direct opposition to the express declaration of that Being, who declared himself, by Moses, to be ONE Lord".⁶⁰ Disney retired in 1805 and though strenuous efforts were made to find a seceding clergyman to

follow him none came forward. When Thomas Belsham (1750-1829), a former Independent minister, took over the Essex-Street pulpit the old idea of leading an Anglican exodus was finally abandoned. Belsham, a brilliant organizer and an able biblical scholar, championed the Unitarian cause for two decades. He conceived Unitarianism in terms more closely defined than his predecessors, and the effect was to exclude Arians, or to reduce their influence on the growing denomination. An able lieutenant was his successor at Hackney, Robert Aspland (1782-1845), a former General Baptist. As editor of the Monthly Repository, and later the Christian Reformer, Aspland made a notable contribution to the development of English nonconformity at a critical period of its development.

Unitarian belief during the Priestley-Belsham era

To summarise the Unitarian theological position in the early decades of the nineteenth century - that is to say, when Michael Maurice was active as a Unitarian preacher and his son was in his teens - we return to a basic insistence on rational faith. Mystery was rejected, God was one and He was all-loving. And if God was One, Christ could not be divine. He was a human being with the passions and emotions of a man, but divinely commissioned to preach social truths, and himself the achiever of perfection. In turn, this achievement was seen as enhancing the role of Christ as teacher and example. Man was capable of progressing towards the ultimate perfection found in Christ. Unitarians were essentially optimistic, and though evil came from man's weakness, "the condition of man is one of progress, one of training for ulterior and higher ends".⁶¹ Stress was laid on good works, not because they were necessary to salvation, but because this was the rational response to those who followed a Christ who laboured in love for the benefit of his fellow men.

For such a view, they were indebted to the Cambridge Platonists who stressed the importance of benevolent conduct and believed that a "principle of 'universal benevolence' holds throughout the entire creation, and in the superior world of intelligence each man is free to find out how he can best serve mankind".⁶² Unitarians rejected the doctrine of original sin, saw no necessity for redemption, and did not believe that salvation depended on correctness of belief. Consequently creeds and similar human formulations were unacceptable to Unitarians.⁶³

These primary features of Unitarian preaching appear in pamphlets circulating amongst Unitarians during Michael Maurice's ministry, as well as in his own few surviving writings. Thus, an anonymous writer of 1827 claimed that Unitarians "reject all human creeds and articles of faith, and as true Protestants, receive the Bible only, as the foundation of their faith, and the rules by which they profess to govern their conduct".⁶⁴ In the same vein, the Unitarian missionary Richard Wright (1764-1836) could write, "Human creeds and systems are the work of fallible and erring men. They are composed of inferences and deductions....frequently guided by an erroneous judgment, and influenced by local circumstances: consequently can be no standard of truth".⁶⁵ The Biblical foundation of Unitarianism is stressed by Michael Maurice, who declared that "the Protestant professes to receive the Bible as the only rule of his faith and practice".⁶⁶ By that standard alone the Unitarian wished to be examined. "Laying aside all prepossession in favour of human systems, and all partiality to the creeds and formularies of fallible men, (the minister) will diligently and honestly enquire, 'what saith the Scripture?'" said the Unitarian pastor James Yates at the induction of a colleague.⁶⁷ Unitarians tried every religious doctrine

by the touchstone of Scripture and all that they felt would not bear this scrutiny they rejected.

The Unitarians denied that the Trinity had any foundation in Scripture, believing rather that "an undivided Unity of the Divine Being is supported by a great number of passages which are clear and express to the point".⁶⁸ Michael Maurice also found that "Scripture is its own interpreter (and) it will therefore appear singular that the term Trinity should never be mentioned either in the Old or New Testament". As Jesus had revealed all things necessary for salvation, it was very singular that he never introduced the doctrine of the Trinity, far less enforcing its belief on those who were to teach his religion.⁶⁹ Wright maintained that the Unity of God was a doctrine of leading importance. Other beings might rule by a derived power, and exercise delegated authority, but absolute supremacy belonged only to God.⁷⁰ We "maintain the radically important doctrine of the strict and simple unity of God" declared James Yates.⁷¹ Another pamphleteer, T S Smith, declared that "those who worship the Father, the son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, are never in the Scriptures said to be the true worshippers. Those who worship the Father only, are".⁷²

Unitarians dissented from the popular doctrine of original sin "which tends to make (God's) rational creatures so much dissatisfied with his dealings towards them".⁷³ A similar point was made by a leading minister, Richard Aspland, who declared that "we cannot conceive that there is any sin in being born".⁷⁴ The Unitarian publicist William Johnson Fox maintained that "the human character is of a diversified cast, the best being not without numerous failings, and the most depraved

sometimes manifesting that 'the law of God written on the heart' cannot be wholly obliterated".⁷⁵

The doctrine of election was criticised because it awarded happiness to a small number and the pains of hell for ever to the remainder, but Unitarians proved this to be erroneous and unscriptural.⁷⁶ Fox also asked whether there was anything lovely in a glory which required that eternal flames should be kindled, and fed with immortal victims? "Is it possible to love a Being who is represented as giving life to millions of creatures with the express design of connecting with that life intolerable misery to all eternity?" The Unitarian loved God, not only for favours bestowed upon himself, but because his tender mercies were over all his works; because he was the God of pardons and mercies; because he was the Father not of an elect few, but of all mankind.⁷⁷ Calvinism, said a contributor to the Monthly Repository, gave "a deadly blow to virtue, in teaching the unacceptedness of the best of human actions to God".⁷⁸

Another Unitarian minister, Edmund Kell (1799-1874), a lifelong friend of Michael Maurice, wrote a pamphlet in 1829 for the Southern Unitarian Society, an area in which Michael Maurice frequently preached as a relief minister. He declared that Jesus was "the most pure and spotless character that ever appeared in the world". Jesus, having delivered a complete summary of doctrine and duty, was crucified, resurrected, and was seated at God's right hand. Kell believed "in the glorious promise of our Saviour, that where he is there also shall his disciples be" united with the "really virtuous, of every age and clime".⁷⁹ All Unitarians shared a belief that "Jesus Christ was made....and is a

creature" but he was "the most extraordinary personage that ever God sent with messages of grace to mankind".⁸⁰

Belief in a benevolent God who has created a humanity capable of gradual moral progression after the pattern of Jesus is central to early nineteenth-century Unitarianism. Faith is Bible-based and this in turn leads to a rejection both of Trinitarian doctrine and the pre-existence of Christ, since post-scriptural credal formulations are unacceptable. The teaching is simple and reasonable and made a successful appeal to sophisticated rationalists who demanded a religion shorn of mystery. But its coldness, its skeletal aspect, failed to win the minds, even less the hearts, of the uneducated masses to whom Whitefield, the Wesleys and their successors were preaching.

The second phase of Unitarian History

Unitarian congregations began the nineteenth century with a markedly aggressive denominationalism and the dogged independence of particular congregations. They had their own well established college - Manchester College. Various promotion groups were coming together. The Unitarian Fund for Promoting Unitarianism (founded 1806) and the Unitarian Association for Protecting the Civil Rights of Unitarians (founded 1819) were amalgamated in 1825 to form the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, under the leadership of Robert Aspland. In 1826 the Unitarian Book Society (founded 1791) joined the new body, followed in 1833 by the Sunday School Association.⁸¹ Although there were problems as to rights to chapel property - notably the Lady Hewley case which was before the courts from 1830-1842 - Unitarian life was vigorous. Nevertheless the churches themselves were essentially fellowships of

individuals held together loosely by commitments of various strengths towards a variety of theological positions. There was no sense in which Unitarianism as a whole could be seen as a church with common ideals far less a system of organization. Membership of the various national organisations remained a matter for individuals; the congregations themselves had not entered into a federation.

Unitarianism in the early decades of the nineteenth century gradually divided into two wings, the one conservative, with its roots in the Belsham tradition, the other distinctly liberal and reflecting new ideas. The conservative wing of Unitarianism included the humbler classes in society and the artisans of the factory towns, already growing in size. The former General Baptist and Methodist breakaway groups joined this branch of Unitarianism, and they tended to be dogmatic with beliefs strictly based on the Bible. The conservative wing included what Webb has called "sectarian crusaders" for whom the denial of the Trinity remained critically important.⁸² Leaders of this party included William Shepherd, Robert Aspland, George Harris and W J Fox. Among conservatives who tended to emphasise the necessarian aspect of Priestley's philosophy were Belsham himself, Lant Carpenter of Bristol, and Charles Wellbeloved, tutor at the York Academy from 1803-1840. Over the years they expressed their view through the Christian Reformer, the Unitarian Herald (1861-1889) and much later Christian Life (1876-1929). A more liberal wing of Unitarianism consisted in the main of the old Dissenting families, people engaged in business and living in London and the larger old cities such as Norwich and Bristol. They were in J E Carpenter's words "aristocrats of the Platonic type" who had inherited the traditions of eighteenth century Presbyterianism with cultured and well-educated ministers.⁸³

They gave a Unitarian response to the two broad shifts which were currently affecting the religious scene - the first, Biblical criticism, particularly developments in Germany; the second, the advent of Romanticism. Each disturbed the Priestleyan foundations of Unitarianism - Biblicism and rationalism.

It was with these Unitarians that Maurice was most in sympathy - men like James Martineau, J J Tayler, J H Thom and Charles Wicksteed. They worked closely together, stimulated one another, and led an emotional protest against the Priestley-Belsham party. It was through the preaching and writing of these ministers in the early years of their careers that the Transcendental influence of William Ellery Channing and the social activities of Joseph Tuckerman reached Great Britain from America. They exercised a powerful influence on their denomination through their journals⁸⁴ and as a product of their various teaching posts at Manchester College, where (after 1857) they exercised total control. Martineau had already struck out on his own with his Rationale of Religious Enquiry in 1836, which marked the beginning of the shift away from the philosophical doctrine of necessity. Shortly afterwards, members of the group defended Unitarianism in a series of thirteen weekly lectures delivered in Liverpool. Thom's understanding of being a Christian in the post-Belsham era was to "pursue our own way, and love our own Christ in meek faith and trust". Doctrines were uncertain, but the spirit of Jesus was not. They were to love, venerate, and obey Christ in all things and cherish the growth of his spirit in their souls.⁸⁵ The extent of the movement away from the Priestley-Belsham school by the Martineau group is indicated in a letter from Tayler to J H Thom in which he refers to some of Priestley's writings. He was astonished to find how far he had drifted

away from the principles of philosophy with which he had grown up.

Though he respected Priestley as a man, he felt that the link between Priestley's philosophy and Unitarianism had been a disaster for the denomination.⁸⁶ Martineau felt the magnitude of the change when he

described the influence of Channing in the 1830s as a new language bursting into a forgotten chamber of the soul.⁸⁷ Channing's own

criticism of old Unitarianism was that it did not "bear living springs in the soul".⁸⁸ Evidences which had meant so much to Priestley and his

generation meant little to the new party. Tayler told Thom: "I do not believe that the Evidences ever tell, till the inner man is previously touched and already won by a deep feeling of spiritual want. Yet I

hardly ever met with an Unitarian of the old school who did not regard such statements as mystical and almost incomprehensible".⁸⁹ Under the

leadership of Martineau, Tayler, Thom and Wicksteed many Unitarians began to "discard the enthralling formalities which rendered their fathers more superstitious than devout".⁹⁰ Nevertheless, a considerable body of able

and influential Unitarians stuck doggedly to their roots - among them

Robert Aspland and W J Fox, Southwood Smith and Samuel Bache. John Relly

Beard, who founded the Home Missionary Board to train men for a narrower and more dogmatic Unitarian ministry, provided a consistent opposition

to the influence of Martineau's party. Martineau's Hymns for the

Christian Church and Home (published in 1840) and the first volume of his

sermons Endeavours after the Christian Life (1843) met great opposition

in the pages of the Christian Reformer.

Two features of the new movement need to be emphasised. Martineau and his friends were convinced that religion should be concerned with the daily life of society. Thom, for example, felt that one of the causes

of the alienation of people from the church was that the religion offered to them had too little relation to life.⁹¹ The 1840s saw Martineau and his colleagues deeply concerned with social conditions. The Christian Teacher in 1843 has articles dealing with the sanitary conditions of the labouring population of Britain, the Report of the Inspectors of Prisons, criminal statistics, and the allotment of lands to the poor.⁹² Thom (1845) boldly appealed on behalf of the poor in a sermon entitled 'Preventive Justice and Palliative Charity', strongly attacking the merchant classes and the river authorities.⁹³ A high doctrine of the church was the second priority which Martineau and his friends addressed and which they shared with Maurice. They had some admiration for the Tractarians and looked back longingly to the Anglican Neo-Platonists of the seventeenth century with their amalgam of tradition, scripture and reason, and there is an emphasis in their writing on the solemnity and order of public worship, and the importance of regular attendance.⁹⁴ Martineau's Hymns were among his earliest publications and he and his friends were first among Dissenters to adopt the Gothic style as the appropriate architecture for devotion and as early as 1839 Tayler and his Manchester congregation engaged the fashionable architect Charles Barry to design a handsome Gothic chapel.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Unitarians were a prosperous and prominent feature of English Dissent. Their church was now an institution with its own full-time ministers; there were active Domestic Missions in many larger towns; the old meeting houses were disappearing to be replaced by fine chapels with stained glass windows, spires, pinnacles, chancels and altars; they were beginning to play a lively part in public life which was to become even more extensive and notable

in the closing decade of the century. There were links with the world of literature and science. In 1850 the Unitarians completed their grand memorial to the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Act - the handsome university hall in Gordon Square, London, planned as a Unitarian department of University College. Coincidentally this was the same year in which the Roman Catholic hierarchy was re-established in England, an issue which brought forth twelve sermons defending the prior claims of the Anglicans from F D Maurice.⁹⁵ At the time of Maurice's birth in 1805, there were still statutory penalties against those who "impugned the doctrine of the Trinity" (repealed 1813) and Catholic emancipation had to wait a further sixteen years. By 1850 England was prepared to accommodate what Maurice considered to be extreme forms of Christianity, each important for what it affirmed and weakened by its denials, Unitarianism and Roman Catholicism.

NOTES

1. Social Morality, p.331 (hereafter, SM). See bibliography for full details of all works by F D Maurice.
2. J F Maurice, The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, chiefly told in his own letters (2 volumes, 3rd edn., London, 1884), Vol.1, p.297.
3. Life, Vol.1, p.135.
4. The word Unitarian first appears in England in a rare pamphlet by Henry Hedworth, Controversie Ended, 1673. He used the word to describe those otherwise called Socinians or Arians. In 1687 Stephen Nye published A brief history of the Unitarians, also called Socinians. In his memoirs, Joseph Priestley used the term without a capital letter. During the closing years of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century Unitarian described those who believed in Christ's full humanity, contrasted with Arians, who saw Christ as higher than man but lower than the Father in divine status. The word Socinian (from Faustus Socinus) was widely used as a term of opprobrium for any thought to hold anti-Trinitarian views.
5. To be distinguished from the nineteenth century congregations in various parts of England which had ties with the Church of Scotland. In 1844, seventy of them came together informally to create the Presbyterian Church in England, prior to formal union in 1876, when in was changed to of. It was this body which united with the Congregational Church in 1972 to form the United Reformed Church.
6. At the opening of the eighteenth century Dissenters numbered about a quarter-of-a-million out of a population of England and Wales of five-and-a-half-million; two-thirds of these Dissenters were Presbyterians. A hundred years later, under Evangelical influence, Congregationalists and Baptists had greatly increased contrasted with an almost falling away of Presbyterians, except where they re-emerged as Unitarians.
7. Baxter wrote: "You could not (except a Catholick Christian) have trulier called me than an Episcopal-Presbyterian-Independent" (Geoffrey F Nuttall, Richard Baxter, London, 1965, p.84). Horton Davies calls Baxter "the first exponent of Ecumenism in England" (The English Free Churches, London, 1952, p.79). Unitarians have always seen Baxter as something of an early hero of their cause, with his comprehensive view of the church, and his abhorrence of sectarianism.
8. A E Peaston, 'Historic Prayer Book Revisions', in TUHS, Vol.13, (1963), pp.9-12.
9. The titles of a few books of the period indicate the dominating place of reason in the thought of the age, though it stretches well back into the seventeenth century, viz. Richard Baxter's The Unreasonableness of Infidelity (1655), and Reasons for the Christian Religion (1667); Charles Blount's The Oracles of Reason (1693); John Locke's very important Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures (1695); William Law's The Case of Reason, or Natural Reason, Fairly and Fully Stated (1731), which was intended to show the limitation of reason and was an answer to Matthew Tindal's Christianity as Old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature (1730); and from a former student of a Dissenting academy, the representative title of George Benson's work, The Reasonableness of the Christian Religion as delivered in the Scriptures (1743).
10. Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy, Vol.2, p.453 (hereafter, MMP)

11. From the third book of the Principia, quoted in P E More and F L Cross, Anglicanism, (London, 1935), p.230.
12. The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament, p.140 (hereafter, PL).
13. The Gospel of St John, p.253 (hereafter, GJ).
14. This is the underlying theme of Clement's Stromateis, Book 3.
15. See H McLachlan, The Religious Opinions of Milton, Locke and Newton, (Manchester, 1941), pp.1127-172. Note also that Newton was a close friend of Whiston and Clarke. Martineau saw Locke as the "father" of textual criticism (Studies of Christianity, London, 1858, p.418). Recent important studies of Newton include F E Manuel, The Religion of Isaac Newton, (Oxford, 1974) and R S Westfall, Never at Rest: a biography of Isaac Newton (Cambridge, 1980).
16. Benjamin Whichcote, Aphorism 916, quoted in C A Patrides, The Cambridge Platonists, (Cambridge, 1980, p.334).
17. Olive M Griffiths, Religion and Learning - a study in English Presbyterian thought from the Bartholomew Ejections (1662) to the foundation of the Unitarian Movement (Cambridge, 1935).
18. Life, Vol.2, p.598.
19. MMP, Vol.2, p.448.
20. Ibid., p.481.
21. Kingdom of Christ, Vol.1, p.143 (hereafter, KC).
22. The anonymous seventeenth century pamphleteer S.P. (probably Simon Patrick, later bishop of Ely), described the Cambridge Platonists thus: "They preferred the virtuous mediocrity of the Church of England to the meretricious gaudiness of the Church of Rome and the squalid sluttishness of fanatic conventicles" (Quoted in W R Inge, The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought, London, 1926, p.47)
23. Patridas, op.cit., p.327.
24. KC, Vol.1, p.144.
25. H McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts, being the history of nonconformist academies 1662-1820 (Manchester, 1931), pp.126-180 (hereafter, EETA); See also, H McLachlan, Essays and Addresses (Manchester, 1950), pp.147-164.
26. The nineteenth century Unitarian J J Tayler looked back at this development and wrote, "Scripture was accepted as a divine record, but upon that record reason was to be exercised with the greatest freedom and impartiality, not only in eliciting its contents, but also in establishing their coincidence with those natural truths which the same reason so clearly affirmed", Retrospect of the Religious Life of England, (London, 1845), p.372.
27. Life, Vol.1, p.19.
28. Lucilla Powell, Annals of a Family, p.11. Lucilla was the seventh daughter of Michael Maurice. A typed copy of her unpublished memoirs is in the possession of Mr Robert Bayne-Powell, her great grandson.
29. Clarke made a revision of the Book of Common Prayer which, inter alia, changed the Trinitarian formulae throughout to become "Glory be to God, by Jesus Christ, through the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost". The Athanasian and Nicene Creeds were omitted. See J P Ferguson, An Eighteenth-century heretic: Dr Samuel Clarke (New York, 1974), pp.162-164.
30. MMP, Vol.1, p.455.
31. D G Wigmore-Beddoes writes "So powerful, and so widespread, was Clarke's influence, supported also, though to a lesser extent, by that of his fellow Anglican, William Whiston, that it is difficult

- to imagine Arianism, and so Unitarianism, ever coming to be a significant factor in the England of the 18th century without the existence of Clarke's and Whiston's books" ("How the Unitarian Movement paid its debt to Anglicanism", TUHS, Vol.13, p.69). Cf. "The early profession of Anti-Trinitarianism was materially influenced by the writings and high reputation of Clarke and Whiston" (William Turner in Unitarians Exhibited, ed. Beard, London 1846, p.102). Through the Scots emigrant William Christie, Clarke contributed to the rise of Unitarianism in the U.S.A. Before leaving Scotland in 1794, Christie had "imbibed most of (Clarke's) opinions" and had swiftly moved from Arianism to Unitarianism. (R B Aspland, Memoir of the Life, Works and Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Aspland, of Hackney, London, 1850), p.241.
32. See N Sykes, William Wake, (Cambridge, 1957), Vol.2, pp.154-159; E G Rupp ably and compactly surveys the Trinitarian debate in Religion in England 1688-1741 (Oxford, 1986), pp.248-256.
 33. See E Duffy, 'Whiston's Affair': the trials of a Primitive Christian 1709-1714 in JEH, 1976, Vol.27, pp.129-150; M Farrell, William Whiston (New York, 1981); J E Force, William Whiston: honest Newtonian (Cambridge, 1984).
 34. See Horton Davies Worship and Theology in England from Watts and Wesley to Maurice 1690-1850, (Princeton, 1961), p.81. The area is thoroughly explored by A E Peaston in The Prayer Book Reform Movement in the 18th Century, (Oxford, 1940).
 35. After 1662 dissenters in great numbers went to Leyden, making it their chief place of higher education after Glasgow and Edinburgh. Nearly 2,000 British students were educated at Leyden between 1700-1800. Some able students would attend two or three universities after their academy courses were over, e.g. Jeremiah Hunt (Newington Green academy, Edinburgh and Leyden) and Daniel Neale the historian of Puritanism (Newington Green, Utrecht and Leyden). Martin Tomkins, who had studied at Utrecht and Leyden, was forced to resign in 1717 after only a year's ministry, on account of his Arian views. (See H John McLachlan, Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England, Oxford, 1951, p.34; H McLachlan, EETA, p.29). See also G F Nuttall English dissenters in the Netherlands 1640-1689 ('s Gravenhage, 1979).
 36. Article on Leechman by Leslie Stephen in DNB.
 37. See Patrides, op.cit., p.23, and Rosalie L Colie, Light and Enlightenment: A study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians (Cambridge 1957). The works of Jean Le Clerk (1657-1736), a friend of Locke and greatly influenced by the Dutch school, were widely read in the dissenting academies.
 38. J E Clowes, Chronicles of the Old Congregational Church at Great Yarmouth, printed privately at Yarmouth, 1906, p.54.
 39. McLachlan, EETA, p.112; Ferguson, op.cit., p.26.
 40. McLachlan, EETA, p.113.
 41. On the Conference, see R Thomas, 'The Salters' Hall Controversy', in JEH, Vol.4, (1953), pp.162-186; Alexander Gordon, Addresses Biographical and Historical (London, 1922), pp.123-153; the Exeter side of the story is described in A A Brockett, Nonconformity in Exeter, 1650-1875, (Manchester, 1962).
 42. E M Wilbur, A History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England, and America, (Cambridge, Mass. 1952), p.263.
 43. C G Bolam, J Goring, H L Short and R Thomas, The English Presbyterians: From Elizabethan Puritanism to Modern Unitarianism,

- London, 1968, p.204.
44. J Priestley, Autobiography, ed. J Lindsey (reprinted Bath 1970), pp.74 and 91.
 45. E Kell, 'Memoir of the late Rev. Michael Maurice', in Christian Reformer, New Series, Vol.11, (July 1855), p.407. Sir Frederick Maurice is wrong when he says (Life, Vol.2, p.7) that "Michael Maurice was sent by his father...to Hoxton Academy"; his father had died nine years previously.
 46. On Hoxton, see H McLachlan, EETA, pp.117-125.
 47. Kell, op.cit., p.408; R V Holt, The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England (London, 1939), p.78.
 48. The constant advice of Kippis to his students was "Judge for yourselves", EETA, p.122.
 49. R Thomas, Richard Price: Philosopher and Apostle of Liberty, (Oxford, 1924), p.110 see also Carl B Cone, Torchbearer of Freedom: The influence of Richard Price on Eighteenth Century Thought, (Kentucky Press, USA, 1952), pp.169ff; and D O Thomas, The honest mind: the thought and work of Richard Price, (Oxford, 1977).
 50. On Hackney College, see EETA, pp.246-255; H McLachlan, 'The Old Hackney College', in TUHS, Vol.3, pp.185-205; H W Stephenson, 'Hackney College and William Hazlitt', in TUHS, Vol.4, pp.219-247 and 376-411; A Lincoln, Some Political and Social Ideas of English Dissent 1763-1800, (Cambridge, 1938), pp.95-100. Cf. "The Dissenters were establishing a University of their own" (London Chronicle, 13 July 1787, quoted in Lincoln, p.95).
 51. At Carmarthen for example (H P Roberts, 'The History of the Presbyterian Academy at Carmarthen', in TUHS, Vol.4, p.349); at Warrington (EETA, p.224) and Manchester (EETA, pp.259-260).
 52. In The Case of Arian Subscription Considered (1721) and A Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription Considered (1722).
 53. A Gordon, Addresses, p.248.
 54. He wrote to William Turner, of Wakefield, "my design...is to try to gather a church of Unitarian Christians out of the Established Church" (A Gordon, op.cit., p.265).
 55. Key supporters were John Jebb (1736-86), Gilbert Wakefield (1756-1801) and John Disney (1746-1816). Wakefield contributed to the downfall of Hackney College with his Inquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of Public or Social Worship in which he proved to his own satisfaction that public worship was unnecessary. (EETA, p.249).
 56. A Gordon, op.cit., p.277.
 57. Wilbur, op.cit., p.282.
 58. Undated Ms. Michael Maurice's handwriting (Bayne-Powell MSS). The theme of moral improvement under the guidance of a Divine Teacher appears in the preaching of F D Maurice: "We have a teacher with us when we walk and with us when we sit still; if we only open our hearts to the learning he would give us and receive it meekly, we cannot fail to become wise". (Unpublished sermon preached at Hurstmonceaux in 1837, F D Maurice's handwriting [Bayne-Powell MSS])
 59. See B M Allen, 'Priestley and the Birmingham Riots', TUHS, Vol.5, pp.113-25.
 60. J Disney, Reasons for resigning the Rectory of Panton and Vicarage of Swinderby in Lincolnshire and quitting the Church of England (London, 1782), p.9.
 61. G Armstrong, The Simplicity of Goodness, (London, 1839), p.7.
 62. W C de Pauley, The Candle of the Lord: Studies in the Cambridge Platonists (Cambridge, 1937), p.16.

63. W A Boggs, 'Without Dogma, Without Creed', TUHS, Vol.13, 1966, pp.141-154; cf. "The great peculiarity in the constitution of our churches is their rejection of human formularies of faith" (Unitarianism Exhibited, p.159).
64. Anon. A Plain Man's answer to the question, Why do you go to the Unitarian Chapel?, (Portsmouth, 1827).
65. R Wright, An essay on the Necessity and Utility of adhering to First Principles of Religion (Wisbech, 1805).
66. M Maurice, An Account of the life and religious opinions of John Bawn, of Frenchay (Bristol, 1824).
67. J Yates, The Character, Duties and Motives of the Christian Minister (Birmingham, 1817), p.10. F D Maurice himself recognised the primacy given to Scripture by his father's denomination: "The Unitarian prized the Bible as the great witness for the Divine Unity, for God's absolute and universal love, for the fact that mankind is under some better condition than that of a curse". (KC, Vol.1, p.253).
68. Plain Man's Answer, p.4.
69. John Bawn, pp.50-51.
70. R Wright, An essay on the unity and supremacy of the one God and Father and the Inferiority and Subordination of His Son Jesus Christ (Wisbech, 1805), p.10.
71. Yates, op.cit., p.17.
72. T S Smith, An appeal to the serious and candid professors of Christianity (Birmingham, 1823), p.4.
73. Plain Man's Answer, p.5.
74. R Aspland, The Unitarians Creed, (Hackney, 1824).
75. W J Fox, The Comparative Tendency of Unitarianism and Calvinism to promote Love to God and Love to Men (London, 1813). This distinctively Unitarian approach is reflected in F D Maurice's farewell sermon at St Peter's, Vere Street, when he reminded the congregation that he had "habitually, deliberately" abstained from speaking of God "as a mere Sovereign power who treats evil as something which is contrary to His decrees and which being Omnipotent, He can punish". (The Warrior's Prayer [London, 1869], p.10).
76. Plain Man's Answer, p.5.
77. Fox, op.cit., pp.18, 24 and 30.
78. Monthly Repository, Vol.2, 1816, p.547. The Christian Reformer up to the middle of the century seized whatever opportunities came its way for levelling criticism at Calvinists. Thus the November 1853 edition (page 726) reported with evident satisfaction the words of the surgeon-superintendent in the annual report of the Rainhill Lunatic Asylum, Lancaster: "The cause of mental disease which ranks only second in potency and frequency to drunkenness, is perverted ideas on religion...according to my own experience, all cases deserving the name of religious insanity are, with rare exceptions, a result of the Calvinistic theology...the wards of this institution have contained examples, far too numerous, of minds shipwrecked on the rocks of religious fatalism". It also quoted a survey conducted in Denmark which indicated that of one thousand Lutherans, 2.1 were insane; of one thousand Calvinists 9.1 were insane.
79. E Kell, Unitarians not Socinians (Portsmouth, 1829).
80. R Wright, Unity and Supremacy of the One God, p.32.

81. The first yearbook of the Association did not appear until 1847 - an indication that the ties were not strong.
82. R K Webb, 'John Hamilton Thom' in P T Phillips (editor), The view from the pulpit: Victorian ministers and society (Toronto, 1978), p.226.
83. J E Carpenter, James Martineau: Theologian and Teacher (London, 1905), p.288.
84. They were concerned with the Christian Teacher (1839-1844), Prospective Review (1844-1854), National Review (1854-1864) and Theological Review (1864-1879). Shortly before the Christian Teacher became the Prospective Review Martineau wrote: "It is time, we think, that the movement party in our body, distinguished by Spiritualism in Philosophy and a preference of an internal and 'experimental' over the external and merely authoritative Christianity, should be adequately and avowedly represented: and the received and dogged allegiance of our other periodicals to the system of Priestley and Belsham has determined us to give voice to modes of thought which we deem truer and nobler, and which we know to have a wide though silent extension among us". (J Drummond and C B Upton, Life and Letters of James Martineau, London, 1901, Vol.1, p.175).
85. Unitarianism Defended (Liverpool, 1839), second lecture, p.40.
86. J H Thom, editor, Letters embracing his life by John James Tayler, B.A. (London, 1872), Vol.2, p.28. (Hereafter, Tayler's Letters).
87. J Martineau, Essays, Reviews and Addresses (London, 1890-91), Vol.4, p.376 (hereafter, ERA)
88. W H Channing, Memoir of W E Channing, 1854, p.294 (quoted in G Rowell, Hell and the Victorians, Oxford, 1974, p.51).
89. Tayler's Letters, Vol.2, p.143.
90. Martineau, ERA, Vol.1, p.8.
91. V D Davies, A minister of God: Selections from the occasional sermons and addresses of John Hamilton Thom (London, 1901), p.195. Cf. the concern of F D Maurice: "I am convinced that theology will be a mere hortus siccus for schoolmen to entertain themselves with, till it becomes associated once more with the Life of nations and humanity; that politics will be a mere ground on which despots and democrats, and the tools of both, play with the morality and happiness of their fellow-beings, till we seek again for the ground of them in the nature and purposes of the eternal God". (GJ, p.475); "No man, I think, will ever be of much use to his generation, who does not apply himself mainly to the questions which are occupying those who belong to it." (KC, Vol.1, p.xxii).
92. Christian Teacher, 1843, pp.30-71; 93-102; 196-207; 395-418.
93. Davies, op.cit., pp.153-173.
94. H L Short says that they looked "beyond Priestley to an idealized Puritanism, even to an idealized Anglicanism and an idealized Middle Ages" (English Presbyterians, p.260).
95. The Church a Family (London, 1850) [hereafter, CAF].

PART TWO

BIOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER TWO

Parental and family influences *

Family life, especially the influence of a father upon his children, was a matter of the greatest importance to F D Maurice. For him the family was "the first element in the idea of a church", and indifference to family life was the first element in the idea of a world.¹ He felt that the institution of families or households lay beneath all other institutions, and that "all others are strong as it is strong, all weak as it is weak".² The father of the family and the household received "a fresh consecration where there is a house in which the great Father, the Father of the whole family in heaven and earth is worshipped".³ It was with a deep measure of personal commitment, characteristic of all his preaching and lecturing, that he said towards the end of his life:

"The obedience of a son is shewn in receiving those influences and impressions from a father's authority which most tend to quicken his own activities. No true father wishes his son to present an image of his opinions. He knows that the copy will be probably a caricature; that an echo conveys the sound not the sense of the original voice. On the other hand, the son whose opinions are most unlike his father's has often learned most from him; in his latest years he probably discovers how much the father's authority has helped₄ to mould the very convictions which appear to separate them".

What these influences and impressions were, and to what extent they contributed to the uniquely Mauricean theology, it is one of the purposes of this thesis to examine. In tracing these impressions of F D Maurice's early life, priority must be given to the influence upon him of his father, the Reverend Michael Maurice, a Unitarian minister.

Michael Maurice was born on February 3, 1766, the son of a Welsh Congregational minister who was also called Michael. Michael Maurice

*Pages 41/51 and 58/68 have appeared in the April, 1989, edition of TUHS.

the elder was born in Trelech in Wales in 1725 and educated at the Carmarthen Academy. Welsh Unitarianism was later concentrated in the Welsh-speaking chapels of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, which became known to orthodox critics as the 'black spot'.⁵ Michael Maurice was first married to Anne Phillips but following her death and his own removal to Yorkshire he married Elizabeth Denison. At the time of the younger Michael's birth he was minister of Eastwood Presbyterian Chapel, near Halifax, Yorkshire, where he served from 1754 until he was called to Pudsey in 1770. He died in July 1773 leaving a widow, his son Michael, and a daughter, Elizabeth.⁶ F D Maurice's father liked to claim descent from Henry Maurice (1634-1682) who occupies a prominent position in the history of Welsh Dissent in the mid seventeenth century.⁷ But there was no blood connection. F D Maurice's paternal great-grandfather had married Henry Maurice's widow but the surname is probably a coincidence. Nevertheless, F D Maurice was proud of his paternal ancestry and once described himself as "a Welshman by origin".⁸ The funeral sermon for Michael Maurice the elder was preached by his brother-in-law, Thomas Morgan (1720-1799), the Congregational minister at the Old Chapel, Morley, who was said to have associated with Unitarians during the earlier part of his life "till roused by the extreme opinions of Dr Priestley".⁹ Another brother-in-law working locally was the Reverend Daniel Phillips, pastor to the Sowerby Chapel from 1752-1788. He was forced out of Sowerby because of the Unitarian flavour of his preaching.¹⁰ F D Maurice's paternal background was clearly marked by ministers holding pronounced views on religion and involved in the theological disputes of their period.

In his will, Michael Maurice the elder directed that his little son

should be "educated and brought up to be a Protestant Dissenting minister, unless my Executors shall have some reason to think that he will not be likely to be useful in the Station". He left him all his books and £40 and a share in his estate at the age of 21.¹¹

After a period at Leeds Grammar School¹² Michael Maurice received his theological education at Hoxton Academy and Hackney College. By the time he left Hackney in 1787, he was "sufficiently zealous in his Unitarian opinions to abandon a considerable property which would have been left to him had he been content to adhere to the faith of his forefathers".¹³ He was also distinctly radical in his political views and a letter to him from his kinsman William Taylor included the Ca Ira with an English translation, and the observation that "the rights of man will not go down with the higher orders".¹⁴

For the next five years he worked alongside the Reverend J M Beynon as assistant pastor at the Old Meeting, Great Yarmouth, which had come under liberal Presbyterian control following the secession of conservative Congregationalists who formed the New Meeting.¹⁵ He "appears from the commencement of his ministry to have been a Unitarian. It must have struck all who knew him that he was a devout man, ever conversing in the Christian tone; and his public prayers (which were always extempore) and his sermons were impressive and devotional".¹⁶

In Yarmouth he soon came into contact with a well established local family - the Hurrys, "very lively in Whig politics".¹⁷ William Hurry (1734-1807) was a timber merchant and ship owner and a member of the Old Meeting. The Hurrys, Taylors and Cobbs were not untypical of liberal

Presbyterian/Unitarian families at this time and well into the nineteenth century - in a good financial situation, manufacturers and merchants, well educated, and politically aggressive. He engaged Michael Maurice to teach his daughters classics. William Hurry, "an unbending supporter of civil and religious liberty",¹⁸ was married to Anne Cobb, the daughter of another prosperous Yarmouth citizen, Edmund Cobb. "At that time Mr William Hurry was not wealthy. By the death of Mr Ives he obtained an increase of property".¹⁹ The Hurrys had three daughters and a son, and lived next door to the Cobbs.²⁰ Michael Maurice's predecessor at Yarmouth was George Cadogan Morgan (1754-1798), a nephew of Richard Price, who was married to the Hurry's eldest daughter, Anne.²¹

At the same time that Michael Maurice was finding his feet as a young minister in Yarmouth changes were taking place at the Gravel Pit Chapel in Hackney. In 1790 Michael Maurice "was requested to preach there. The same application was renewed. Some of the congregation wished me to settle with them. But Dr Price, the minister, had a nephew...and naturally wished the nephew (George Morgan) to join him".²² For several years Morgan assisted Price, who hoped his nephew would succeed him as senior minister. However the Chapel Committee invited Joseph Priestley (recently driven from Birmingham) to be their pastor, and he held the office from 1791-1794.²³

Early in 1792 the question of Priestley's co-pastor arose. The chief contender was Thomas Belsham, divinity tutor at Hackney College. Belsham's candidature did not receive sufficient support and instead Michael Maurice was called back from Yarmouth to take the post. It was popularly believed that "licentious principles of government" were being

taught at Hackney College²⁴ so that it was probably due to political as much as to religious views that inclined the Chapel to go beyond Hackney to find a co-pastor for Priestley. Admittedly Michael Maurice had been a student there for a year, and was certainly an enthusiastic liberal, but he had been away from Hackney for five years and his political ardour might have been expected to cool a little. However, his period of office at Hackney was short-lived. The agitation against Priestley which had forced him to leave Birmingham was renewed with the outbreak of the war with France, and he was forced to emigrate to the United States, where some of his family were already living. Other politically active Unitarians, such as Thomas Muir and Thomas Fysche Palmer, had received severe deportation sentences.²⁵ Jeremiah Joyce, who had been a Hackney student with Michael Maurice, spent six months in the Tower on a charge of high treason before being acquitted.²⁶ Many radical families were considering emigration.²⁷ Priestley preached his farewell sermon at the Gravel Pit Chapel on March 30, 1794, and during the next few days Michael Maurice helped him pack his books and scientific apparatus. Priestley and his wife sailed to the United States during April and never returned to England. His unpopularity contrasts with the popularity of the aged and yet indefatigable John Wesley. When Wesley's funeral took place in 1791 vast crowds gathered to pay homage to him even though it took place between 5.00 and 6.00 in the morning.²⁸ Priestley found no happier state of affairs in Pennsylvania. He wrote home to John Disney "such is the force of prejudice here greater I think than in England and so numerous are the unbelievers who not only despise but hate Christianity, that I am sometimes ready to despair".²⁹

Priestley believed that Michael Maurice had been chosen as co-pastor

because of his Arian views, a moderate position which would accommodate that part of the congregation who objected to Priestley's advanced Socinianism - he still thought of himself as a Socinian. He did not believe that any person ought to be chosen because of his particular profession as an Arian because it became an obligation to remain as he was but at least the congregation would have "more satisfaction in receiving the Lord's Supper at his hands".³⁰

In July 1794, Michael Maurice left Hackney for a second and final time, and on September 3rd he married Priscilla, the eighteen years old daughter of William Hurry. He would have preferred to stay in London, but "my intended disliked a London residence (and) her father recommended our residing in the country and my taking a limited number of pupils at £60 per annum".³¹ He was beginning his independent ministry at a time of considerable change in Unitarianism. Price was dead and Priestley now lived abroad. The war with France placed the denomination under great stress and some of its ministers and theological students resigned or gave up Christianity altogether.³² Liberal Presbyterians and Unitarians were frequently charged with political disaffection and even accused of wishing to dechristianise the country. The words Presbyterian/Unitarian and Jacobin were convertible and the antagonism towards them was fierce. The Christian Remembrancer declared that "the Unitarians are a political rather than a religious sect - radicals to a man".³³ Rational Dissent also lacked the religious drive of the Evangelicals, both within Dissent and within the Church of England. The Reverend Job Orton, minister of the Presbyterian church at Shrewsbury, noticed that his more orthodox brethren were "in general most serious and active in their ministry, and those of freer principles more indolent and languid".³⁴ Though Michael

Maurice gave himself whole-heartedly to the pastoral and educational aspects of his life as minister- schoolmaster, the rejection of Unitarianism by his wife and children was to be regarded by former colleagues as proof of his lack of doctrinal zeal.

Michael and Priscilla Maurice set up their first home at Kirby Cane, a hamlet on the Norfolk/Suffolk border, a few miles from Bungay. Religious services were held in the Maurice's house and in a meeting room in the nearby village of Geldeston. He followed his father-in-law's advice and began taking pupils. In any case his pastor's stipend would have been very small - even fifty years later eighty six ministers received less than £100 a year.³⁵ His first three children - Elizabeth (1795), Mary (1797) and Anne (1799) were born at Kirby Cane. By all accounts the young Mrs Maurice was a very competent woman. "Young as she was, my father used often to say that she had more judgment and maturity at that age than most women of double her years" wrote one of her daughters.³⁶ F D Maurice himself said that his mother "had a far clearer intellect than my father"³⁷ and she made a great impression on John Ludlow: "obviously of much stronger intellect than her husband, but more selfcontained and reticent, so that on the rare occasions on which I met her, I was not able to enter into her intimacy".³⁸ Michael Maurice was "a very small man, with an old fashioned and extreme courtesy".³⁹ In fact, he tended towards an exaggerated humility, a characteristic his son unconsciously ^{copied} emulated.⁴⁰

By 1798 the family had moved to the manor house at Normanstone, a mansion in 237 acres of land about a mile from Lowestoft, which had been given to them by Priscilla's brother Edmund Cobb Hurry (1762-1808), a

prosperous banker and merchant.⁴¹ Here Maurice continued his work as a schoolmaster with between fifteen and twenty pupils. His kinsman William Taylor recommended the school to Robert Southey, who sent to Maurice his younger brother Henry (1783-1865), later a successful physician. The high fees tended to confine the school to the children of the prosperous middle class. Taylor said that pains were taken under Maurice's roof "to inspire habits of piety, a leaning to republican theories of government, and the passive, remonstrating morality of the Christian, in preference to that of the man of honour".⁴² Members of the Church of England (including some clergy) sent their children to Maurice, as well as orthodox Dissenters like Joseph Hardcastle, first treasurer of the London Missionary Society, and an ardent Evangelical/ Congregationalist.⁴³ He sent his sons Alfred and Joseph there bringing into the Maurice household Evangelical views which were to deeply affect the whole family.

For several years Michael Maurice ministered at the Lowestoft Unitarian Church. The church's Trust Deed provided simply that the building should be used for "the worship of Almighty God" and for some time its ministers were Arians. Maurice preached only on Sunday afternoons, by arrangement with the local vicar, so that members of Maurice's congregation might be free to worship at the Parish Church in the mornings if they wished.

This was later seen by Edmund Kell as the major factor causing the Congregationalists to gain control of the Lowestoft Meeting House after Maurice had left.⁴⁴ Within the wider community he "interested himself in every useful and philanthropic scheme" and "the villagers and the poor around Normanstone were the constant objects of care, and my father took an evening class for those of the labourers who wished to be instructed".⁴⁵ It was at Normanstone that John Frederick Denison Maurice

was born on 29th August 1805, followed by his sister Emma in 1807 and little Priscilla in 1810. Shortly after Frederick's birth Mrs Maurice's nephew and niece, Edmund and Anne Hurry (children of her brother Edmund) came to live with the family following the death of their parents. Everyone - family and pupils - lived within a single household, and as Frederick was educated at home until his late teens, it is not surprising that he constantly saw the role of parent and teacher, and later God as father and educator, as one. The theme appears in his consideration of the Quakers in The Kingdom of Christ and in his essay on inspiration in the Theological Essays. Michael Maurice's daughter Anne recalls the religious impressions which her father's teaching made on her: "I believed God to be a merciful God, too kind to punish for a long continuance any whom he had endowed with life, and ready to accept the prayers and good works of any of his creatures". Christ was thought of as a great teacher, a very good man enabled by God to perform miracles. They were to follow his example and trust to God's mercy to forgive that which they could not attain.⁴⁶

Michael Maurice's concern that his child^{ren} should grow up with what he thought to be the right attitude of care for others induced him to leave ^{household} Yarmouth and move to Clifton, near Bristol, in 1812. "I feared my children having wrong views of their real situation, for their relatives of connection moved in higher stations than they were likely to fill. I feared they should have too high opinions of themselves and not exert themselves enough to serve others".⁴⁷ Two years later they moved across Bristol to the small village of Frenchay. Here the younger children of the family were born, the twins Esther and Lucilla in 1814 and Harriet

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in 1819. In those days there was no parish church at Frenchay, but there was a Quaker meeting house and a tiny Unitarian chapel built for Presbyterian use in 1691. Here Maurice took over the pastorate in succession to William Jillard Hort, who had been a senior student at Hoxton Academy when Maurice was there in 1782. The family lived in a smaller house and the number of pupils was reduced.

In his letter of resignation to the members of the Frenchay Chapel Hort said that he was glad that he did not leave them in an unprovided state. They did not have "far to look for one who is much more able than myself to administer to your spiritual wants; whose well-tempered zeal, whose indefatigable industry urged on by pure benevolence you are continually witnessing".⁴⁸ On 8th May 1815 the chapel treasurer Mr R Bruce invited Michael Maurice to become pastor of the congregation. They had experienced his zeal for "the temporal and eternal interests of the neighbourhood" and "the constant exercise of the most benevolent and pious services since you resided here".⁴⁹ Maurice willingly accepted the invitation and replied to the congregation: "I rejoice if any means I can pursue can contribute to benefit the rising generation and to spread knowledge with liberality and piety with Christian principles. Tho' some of the plans I have recommended be new in these parts, their good effects have long been known in other counties. It is my Christian friends your readiness to try new methods for promoting free and undefiled religion, it is your concurrence in these subjects that gives weight to your request that I should be successor of one whose absence I shall deeply regret".⁵⁰

Evangelical Influences

During 1814 F D Maurice's eighteen years old cousin Edmund was taken ill. He had been living with his sister Anne as a member of the Maurice family since childhood. At the same time his sister Anne was passing through a period of great unhappiness. She had formed a romantic attachment with Alfred Hardcastle but his father Joseph had caused this to be broken off because of Anne's Unitarian background, and he had withdrawn Alfred and his other son Joseph from Michael Maurice's school.⁵¹ Faced with the prospect of her brother's death she found no comfort in Unitarianism, but found some consolation when she recalled the Evangelical beliefs of Alfred Hardcastle and his family. Edmund and Anne also found some comfort in Hannah More's Coelebs in search of a wife which "showed him a divine saviour".⁵² Edmund was converted to orthodox Christianity before he died on 18th October 1814, and "when once he had laid hold of the gospel his peace flowed like a river and his patience was such that his dying room was the privileged resort of the family". Lucilla admitted that there was no record of the effect of these changes on nine years old Frederick Maurice, but she had no doubt that it made a deep and lasting impression.⁵³

At some stage during 1814 Anne Hurry, the inseparable companion of Mary Maurice, met the Moravian authoress Mrs Mary Ann Schimmelpennick, and was encouraged to seek a personal saviour. By January 1815 she had rejected Unitarianism, joined the Church of England, and married Alfred Hardcastle. Edmund's death and Anne's conversion had a decisive effect on Michael Maurice's elder daughters, Elizabeth, Mary and Anne, who now began to express their dissatisfaction with Unitarianism.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1815 Elizabeth Maurice, now nineteen,

made a series of visits to the Hardcastles at Hatcham. She also discussed her religious difficulties with the Reverend Henry Palmer,⁵⁴ the Evangelical rector of Ore, near Hastings, who was married to a relative of the Maurices, Harriet Palmer, and "before she left Ore, Elizabeth was indeed 'a new creature', old things were passing away and she was daily learning new lessons at the foot of the Cross".⁵⁵

Elizabeth's sister Anne, a cripple confined to the house, was also undergoing a change, and had been reading William Law's Serious Call. She wrote to their former governess, Esther Parker, "O! my dear Esther, if you still doubt concerning the comforting doctrine of the atonement, read Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews regularly, chapter by chapter, without going to consult your favourite books, but in hearty prayer to God, to give his Holy Spirit to direct you to see the truth. Then tell me how you can explain it without believing that through the blood of Christ we must look for the forgiveness of our sins?"⁵⁶ Despite the fact that they all lived under the same roof, the Maurices frequently wrote letters to one another when they had something difficult to say. Anne therefore, on her own and her sister Elizabeth's behalf, wrote to her father "we do not think it consistent with the duty we owe to God to attend a Unitarian place of worship" adding that she and Elizabeth could no longer join their father in the communion. Michael Maurice was totally unprepared for this disturbing news from his daughters. He was saddened that they had not confided in him. Replying to Anne's letter, he wrote: "I have not acted as a father to whom no confidence ought to be shown. Nor have I refused to argue or state my reasons of belief in such a way as might have apprised me somewhat of what I expect from those who are dearer to me than they can imagine".⁵⁷ Priscilla told her husband that she felt

the lack of suitable Unitarian books was partly to blame, the voice being taken up by Evangelical publications, but that this was not the parents' fault. Mary Maurice, now eighteen, was at the bedside of her cousin Anne Hardcastle (née Hurry) when she died during her first confinement in September 1815. Her conversion had been complete; her father-in-law Joseph Hardcastle wrote to a relative: "The closing scene of her life was full of peace and hope. She had a confident reliance on the power and grace of Christ and took her leave of this world with a delightful anticipation of the glorious scenes in which she was about to enter".⁵⁸ Before she died, Anne had pleaded with Mary to leave Unitarianism for orthodox Christianity, and Mary had agreed.

Describing the results of these changes, F D Maurice wrote: "At first they were strongly influenced by Wesley's teaching. Gradually they all, for a while, became strong Calvinists; a form of belief which was most offensive to Unitarians and to my father. It was still more grievous to him that they seemed to cut themselves off entirely from their childhood by undergoing a second baptism, and being connected with a Society of Baptist Dissenters".⁵⁹ The girls were rebaptised at Bristol on 23rd October 1817. Lucilla wrote: "Frederick and Emma were called to 'stand aside and see the great sight' which was enacting before their eyes. Their sisters, once so filled with pride of reason, so incredulous of the necessity of any redemption from sin, were now earnestly seeking for pardon".⁶⁰ Mrs Maurice, Frederick and the girls also went to Broadmead Chapel, Bristol to hear the Baptist preacher Robert Hall. "Those services were never forgotten by Frederick and the painful circumstances which immediately followed confirm the solemn impressions".⁶¹

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So far as church allegiance was concerned, the Maurice family was now very mixed. "Elizabeth joined the Church of England; the Hardcastles were all Dissenters (i.e. Congregationalists) and Mary was thus led to join herself to them, whilst Anne, when not confined to her couch, attended the Baptist meetings near Frenchay....when my mother gave up going to the Unitarian Chapel they used all to drive into Bristol every Sunday, as less painful to my father than their attending anywhere nearer home".⁶² Mary and Esther joined the Church of England in 1830 and by 1837 Mrs Maurice and Lucilla had certainly joined them. The Maurice girls also persuaded their former governess Esther Parker to rejoin the Church of England - they had earlier converted her from it to Unitarianism.

Fierce arguments raged in the Maurice home between Elizabeth and Anne over establishment and dissent. Elizabeth had been given some guidance by the Millenarian rector of Lympsham, the Reverend Joseph Stephenson, who was later to deeply influence F D Maurice. Anne and Mary meanwhile received advice from Dissenting ministers. Elizabeth was determined to leave no stone unturned in establishing the divinity of Christ, and compiled a selection of texts "on the Person of Christ" during 1819.⁶³ Anne was particularly concerned about the twins Lucilla and Esther, who were in her special care: "I think I could bear to be disappointed in every earthly thing but one - I could not bear to see my little sisters grow up to deny my Lord. Blessed Jesus, take these children, so dear to me, to thine own arms, and bless them abundantly".⁶⁴ Mary was separated from her sisters not only by her religious opinions, but by her temperament, and the discussions frequently took an ugly form. Maurice looked back on these years as a time

of "moral confusion and contradiction".⁶⁵ In fact, he thought his father's dislike of orthodox Christianity "was chiefly from the divisions which he supposed it created between those who ought to be agreed. This I was obliged to understand in very early years. It gave rise to a number of perplexities and contradictions in my mind as I grew up. But whatever I have learned or hoped for has been connected with the question how such an agreement is possible without destroying diversities, without establishing a mere dead uniformity either of denial or of profession".⁶⁶

Michael Maurice blamed himself for not intervening when the girls sought the advice of other ministers of religion, and he made Elizabeth, Anne and Mary promise that they would not try to influence the religious views of the younger children.⁶⁷ Mrs Maurice was unhappy about this and in a letter written, but not delivered, in the expectation of death she said she wished that it were possible for Elizabeth, Mary and Anne to "speak to him (Frederick) on the most important subjects with unreserve because I know that nothing but the principle produced by the real doctrines of the gospel can have any effect in preserving from sin. That happy time may come when his dear father may wish this to be, but as it is do all you can for my most darling boy who I trust will be a devoted minister of the everlasting gospel, and I do most earnestly hope that by the blessing of God on his study of the scriptures all truth will be revealed to him without any human assistance".⁶⁸ The elder girls kept the promise Michael Maurice had exacted from them, so that when Lucilla and Esther took their queries to Anne, her reply was "look in the Bible yourselves, my dears, and find it out".⁶⁹ In her own journal, Anne describes how she was reading the Bible aloud to the twins and came to Matthew 27:50 "Jesus cried with a loud voice and gave up the ghost". She explained to them

that this meant his body had died. "Lucilla immediately said 'God is a Spirit. God could not die. Christ must be some great man'. Esther, not the least moved by this reasoning, said, 'No, Christ must be God'. I was obliged to reply 'my dear, you must read the Bible and judge for yourself'".⁷⁰

Emma, who was two years F D Maurice's junior, was closely attached to the crippled sister Anne, and she was also close in age and spirit to their brother. It was scarcely possible that Emma could remain unaware of what was happening in the household. "She soon discovered that the statements in the Bible were very different from those she heard around her, and she not only received the truth, but acted upon it, and avowed her full belief in a Divine Saviour and in His redemption from sin. She was very anxious that her brother should take equal interest in what was so precious to her, and the influence she exerted over him was one of the great blessings of his life".⁷¹ The dogmatic Evangelical tone of this thirteen year old girl's faith appears in a letter she wrote to her younger sister Priscilla on her tenth birthday: "You will perceive that I have enclosed 'Baxter's Call', a book which has been the means of the conversion of many. O! that it may be of yours! You...have been and still are, alarmed about your eternal welfare...you are today ten years old; now if you were to begin from this day, and never do another wrong thing, all the sins of ten years would still remain, and you would be sent to Hell for these alone".⁷² One detects the influence of current Evangelical literature behind the child's letter. Such views on the sins of children appear in many of the hymns of Isaac Watts and Roland Hill and in the pages of the Evangelical Magazine.⁷³ Within a year or two Emma had met the influential Stephenson who converted her to Anglicanism.

The religious standpoint of Mrs Maurice had also been gradually moving away from that of her husband. The beginnings may be traced in the letter she wrote to him in May 1816 in which she said that while she lamented the children's changes because of the sorrow it caused him, yet she could not "bring my mind to regret them whilst I see that they are influential in producing good fruits".⁷⁴ In 1819 she wrote to him a letter which was intended to bring him over to her views. Like the letter to her elder daughters it was written in the expectation of death when at the age of forty four she was awaiting the birth of her tenth child. She recovered, and Michael Maurice never read the letter. However, she had earnestly requested him "to reconsider the blessed Scriptures, that only guide to truth. The wisest may have overlooked the pearl of great price, the most foolish may have discovered it...my Bible shews me, my dearest friend, that you are in very great danger...I have experienced too well the strengths of the holds in which you are imprisoned not to feel the difficulty of what I cannot but attempt. When I remember that the truth on which I now ground all my hopes of eternal happiness was once the object of my aversion and ridicule, fancying it to be the invention of man...how can I hope that anything I can say can induce you to seek 'the only foundation that is laid'".⁷⁵ A further letter written at the same time, again undelivered, to the former governess Esther Parker spoke of finding "Him in the eleventh hour though I have but little sensible proofs of it".⁷⁶ This indicated another recurrent theme in Priscilla Maurice's life - a lack of inner conviction about salvation which her Evangelical friends constantly told her she ought to possess. She spent about a year composing a letter to her husband dated September 1821 in which she asked him how she could, with

the least pain to him, attend some other place of public worship.⁷⁷ She was in fact now converted to the extreme Calvinist Evangelicalism from which her husband was at the same time winning a young friend, John Bawn. Painfully torn, she found herself at home neither in the aggressive dogmatism of her daughters or the quiet liberal approach of her husband.

Michael Maurice's Resignation

It was the gradual effects of these Evangelical influences upon his daughters and his wife which forced Michael Maurice to eventually resign his pastorate at Frenchay. Maurice wrote a letter of resignation to the supporters of the chapel in July 1824: "Never shall I forget the sympathy you have shown under the various trials that divine wisdom has seen fit to assign to me. May we all look to him by whom they are appointed and possess our souls in patience, using our best endeavours that the afflictions of this life may work together for preparing us for a state where sin and sorrow and death will be banished".⁷⁸ He sent ten pounds to the chapel treasurer requesting that five should be applied to the expense of a Sunday School should one be formed again and the remainder given to the congregation's library.⁷⁹ It appears that the money was wrongly placed in a Savings Bank and in 1834 Maurice wrote to the chapel treasurer asking for the money to be applied to the work of an infants' school at Frenchay.⁸⁰

From 1824 Michael Maurice occupied no permanent pastorate, though at Sidmouth (where the family lived in 1824 and 1825) and at Southampton (1825-1835) he was active in supplying empty pulpits and assisting his ministerial colleagues in other ways. In September 1825 he preached the

annual sermon before the Southern Unitarian Society at Portsmouth,⁸¹ and before the Eastern Unitarian Society at Halesworth in July 1827.⁸² In 1831 he preached for two months at the New Meeting in Birmingham and during the whole of 1832 he was missionary to the Southern Unitarian Society. He preached some time at Portsmouth in 1833 and spent a month at Bridport in 1835. Throughout this period he was frequently embarrassed by the behaviour of his Evangelical daughters. Anne Maurice wrote that the twins Esther and Lucilla "sometimes used to say that they wished never to go to the Unitarian Chapel (at Sidmouth) for they did not think the truth was preached there and that the Unitarians did not believe that a man must be born again, in which they did, and the Unitarians did not believe that Christ was God, which they did, and that they were not Unitarians and never would be".⁸³ Recalling her own upbringing many years later Lucilla Maurice said that she regarded it as an advantage that there was no Unitarian chapel at Southampton and "we were allowed to attend at the Independent Chapel and sometimes went to Holy Rood Church (Anglican)".⁸⁴

At Southampton Maurice was urged by the Southern Unitarian Society to open a Unitarian Meeting Room but he declined "on the ground that by mingling with Trinitarians freely and uncontroversially, he was doing more good, by softening their prejudices and liberalizing their minds, than if he were openly to endeavour to establish Unitarian worship".⁸⁵ A Unitarian congregation was eventually formed in Southampton in 1846 by Kell. In the summer of 1851 a disused Wesleyan chapel was refurbished and opened as the Southampton Unitarian Church. Maurice's brief ministry at Sidmouth was well received by the congregation who presented him with a silver waiter when he left the town. In his reply at the presentation

he exhorted them "to strengthen each other's faith, to animate each other's zeal, and to abound in every good word and work, thus to be followers of those who now, through faith and patience, inherit the promises".⁸⁶

From mid 1820s, the Maurices suffered a series of financial setbacks. Up to this time they had been comfortably off. As a result of various family bequests, Priscilla received a total of over £11,000 during her marriage to Michael Maurice while he received in excess of £12,000 from his family. At his death he left over £17,000.⁸⁷ But in 1828 he wrote to his friend Thomas Sanders "no interest is being paid...my income is reduced, my health has been very indifferent and my pupils are the source of great anxiety".⁸⁸ He lost a considerable amount of money which he had on political grounds, injudiciously invested in the bonds of the Spanish Constitutional Party.⁸⁹

From Southampton the Maurices moved to Reading, where Elizabeth and Mary (Anne had died in 1826) opened a school. Elizabeth, who suffered from epilepsy, died in 1839. Six years later Michael and Priscilla Maurice moved with Mary to London. He died at his home, Ladbroke Villas, Notting Hill, on 6th April 1855, having appeared to former Unitarian colleagues to have "departed from our midst even before his actual decease".⁹⁰ His wife had died the previous year.

Michael Maurice's Character

In his memoir of Michael Maurice Edmund Kell describes him as a man of "active benevolence". F D Maurice said he wished he had something of "his benevolence, generosity, and freedom from self-indulgence",⁹¹ and

his wife Priscilla said "he rejoices in any good being done, whatever the quarter whence it proceeds".⁹² Samuel Clark, a young Quaker who later joined the Church of England, was befriended by Maurice in Southampton. He later recalled that "for real devoted kindness, for always thinking of everyone's welfare before his own, I have not known his equal".⁹³ Though he lost some of the radicalism that marked the Hackney days, he remained a liberal in politics. The earliest news of the falling of the Bastille had reputedly been brought to England by his future brother-in-law, George Morgan, and as late as 1823 he confessed the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille "is still one of the Dies Fasti in my calendar".⁹⁴ He was a friend of Thomas Clarkson and Zachary Macaulay (who both had strong links with Joseph Hardcastle) and he worked energetically for the abolition of slavery. "The more I read (of) all that falls in my way of the West Indies, the more I blame myself for my past inattention to the slave", he told Sanders.⁹⁵ "Can slavery be justified in any form by a Christian? Can its continuance for any period be sanctified by a true friend of freedom?"⁹⁶ He was in favour of the abolition of the disabilities against Catholics, and his area of concern was itself catholic: the life of sailors and the development of lifeboats, the improvement of the life of gypsies, membership of the British and Foreign Bible Society,⁹⁷ a movement to stop climbing boys being used in chimney cleaning. He was active in education and as late as 1840 told Sanders that he "was last night chairman of a public meeting (at Reading) for the British and Foreign Schools".⁹⁸ He was concerned with sewerage disposal in Southampton and maintained that "rubbish must be removed and evils corrected in town as well as in state".⁹⁹ Throughout the period of the war with France he was very active as one of the "Friends of Peace".

Some time later he wrote to Lant Carpenter "You know a Peace Society will be established soon in Bristol. I hope you will (promptly) join it not only with your name but with your exertions. I am more and more convinced all we Unitarians take some uniform plan of protesting at war. We are neglecting a solemn duty we owe to our cause".¹⁰⁰ Kell observed "In short, there was hardly a society for the moral and physical amelioration of his fellow beings to which he did not give freely of his means and of his active efforts".¹⁰¹ So long as the children lived at home with their parents, they were all actively engaged with their father in his various philanthropic activities. "Mary and Emma have classes for young women, Mrs Maurice with the two eldest visits the infants school, and Mrs Maurice has lately consented to be a member of the Refuge", he wrote to Sanders.¹⁰² The young F D Maurice and his sisters learned at first hand about the conditions in which the poor lived, they were familiar with the idea of progress based on education, and they were co-operating with others in ways that cut through sectarian boundaries.

Religious views of Michael Maurice

Let us look now at Michael Maurice's Unitarianism. There is no evidence to suggest that he would not largely have agreed with the basic tenets of a Bible based Unitarianism current during the early decades of the nineteenth century but there was with his presentation of the faith a considerable blurring of the edges. Richard Lockwood, the old Vicar of Lowestoft with whom he had exchanged congregations, told Kell "that it could not be inferred from his preaching, unless it were negatively, what were his distinctive views". When he lived in Southampton he often listened to the sermons of John Bullar at the local Independent church and Bullar himself told Kell that "he never on any single occasion knew

him to express dissent from any doctrine he preached".¹⁰³ Whether this was from Maurice's preference for peace, respect for the other persons point of view, or doubts about his own theological position undermined as it had been by the behaviour of his wife and children, it is impossible to say. There was, nevertheless, an old fashioned coolness about his rational faith. Not surprisingly, he was deeply shocked by what he experienced when he attended one of Edward Irving's services, with "the wild voices and the artificial excitement".¹⁰⁴

An outline of his religious opinions is contained in a pamphlet which he wrote in 1824 in which he offered "answers to some objections frequently advanced against Unitarians".¹⁰⁵ In 1822 John Bawn, a convert from Calvinistic Methodism to Unitarianism, had died at the age of 19.

Michael Maurice had been instrumental in his conversion and the young man had been subjected to fierce attacks for his change of opinion even when seriously ill and too weak to engage in lively debate. Maurice came to his defence by writing a long letter addressed to the young man's sick visitors. Left in Bawn's room, the letter discouraged them in the strongest terms from judging the soundness of their friend's faith. Maurice was ready to engage them in argument himself: "should the intention of such as visit young Bawn be only to enquire into the reason of the hope Unitarians cherish, and to know what are really the doctrines they believe themselves and inculcate on others; should the wish be to investigate the subject by an appeal to the Bible and to the Bible alone, laying aside all bitterness, and striving in tenderness to excite each to love and good works; should any one wish any information on these topics, or why, after the manner which others call heresy, we worship the God of our fathers, it shall be cheerfully given by (me)".

The letter was couched in terms as tolerant as the situation demanded, but the reception was so hostile that some visitors redoubled their efforts to convince Bawn of the heresy he had embraced, while others stopped visiting altogether. Later Maurice published his own account of the affair with a copy of the letter, some of Bawn's religious thoughts and Maurice's own observations on Unitarian teaching.

To the accusation that Unitarians denied Christ, Maurice replied that he believed him to be the "Son of God; sent by the Father of Mercies to seek and to save...the author and finisher of my faith...the publisher of glad tidings, and the teacher and perfect example of righteousness".¹⁰⁶ (The tone is closely similar to that in a manuscript prayer of Maurice's for "one in bodily weakness" which begins by addressing God as "Father of Mercies" and as "our reconciled and forgiving Father".)¹⁰⁷ Maurice received Christ not only as proclaiming life and immortality, but as "the faithful witness of our resurrection in his own Resurrection and Ascension to Glory". But Unitarians did "deny Christ the titles and honours which the Creeds confer upon him, which call him God of Gods, very God, etc." These titles were for God alone. Reconciliation to God was achieved by men turning "from darkness to light, from the practice of evil, to the pursuit of whatsoever things are just and true, and venerable, and of good report". A good life was what really mattered. God was ever merciful and gracious and never desired a sinner's death; "he would have all men come to the knowledge of the Truth and enjoy eternal life. This is the Atonement of the New Testament".¹⁰⁸

Unitarians regarded God as the father and friend of all, addressing him as the God of love, full of mercy, long suffering, forbearing and forgiving, and he therefore had no fear that the Creator would elect some of his children for felicity and condemn others to misery. His vision of the after life was that place "where eternal bliss will be portion of the good".¹⁰⁹ The blessings of the heavenly mansions will be bestowed "not according to the rank here held, not according to the worldly wisdom here acquired, but according to the willingness shewn to take up the Cross and to follow the great Captain of our salvation". Unitarians were not divisive, rather "they are solicitous to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace and in righteousness of life". He encouraged his readers to reflect on the many important doctrines on which Christians of all denominations agreed.¹¹⁰

Michael Maurice's Inconsistencies

Following Michael Maurice's death in 1855 and the publication of Kell's Memoir, there was an argument between Kell and the family and friends of the old minister. It turned on the question as to whether Michael Maurice had been habitually inconsistent in the way he presented his Unitarianism, or whether (as his family maintained) he had gradually moved out of Unitarianism into orthodox Christianity. In his review of Maurice's career, Kell felt that there was "a want of fidelity in the open profession of (his religious faith), which I mention with regret, and which could hardly have been expected from a colleague of Dr Priestley". He felt that Maurice had compromised his beliefs by mixing with Trinitarians at Southampton. "I always felt that his want of decision in not speaking out his opinions, in not influencing the religious opinions of his family, was deeply inimical to the cause of

holy truth". In particular the loss of F D Maurice to the Church of England was due, Kell believed, to the father's want of consistency and the "many evils" which arose from it.¹¹¹

Within a matter of weeks, the Reverend John Gell, vicar of St John's, Notting Hill, who attended Michael Maurice during his closing years, was replying for the defence. He maintained that over the years Maurice had gone through successive stages of "toleration, respect, acquiescence, attachment, and finally of absorbing confidence and undivided faith, in the doctrine of the Atonement and Divine nature of the Son of God".¹¹² There is certainly some evidence of changes that had begun at least twenty five years before, as Lucilla Powell recalls: "In June 1831 I had written to him during his absence from home stating very fully the grounds of my own hope and their entire opposition to those held by Socinians". She feared that her father would be hurt by her candour but "when he returned he was more affectionate than ever and pressed me to him with unusual fervour as if to show me that he fully approved of what I had done. We used often to try to cheer our dear mother by pointing out tokens of the change that was thus secretly going on".¹¹³

Gell also drew attention to Maurice's prayers, since "sometimes he offered his supplications to 'God in Christ' sometimes 'through Christ' and sometimes 'to Christ'". Certainly the manuscript prayer for "one in bodily weakness" is made "in the name and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord".¹¹⁴ Gell claimed that in conversation, Michael Maurice brought the name of Christ forward explicitly "as acknowledging the Godhead of Christ" and he clung with "childlike simplicity and reverence to the doctrine of the Atonement through His blood". He often attended

Gell's church and there is no doubt that he was constantly attended by the vicar.¹¹⁵

On Easter Sunday 1854 Mrs Maurice was dying and arrangements were made for F D Maurice to celebrate the Eucharist at home with his parents. "My father", Lucilla wrote, "was sitting by her with her hand in both of his when she turned towards him and in touching words expressed her sense of what he had been to her during their long married life - so good, so kind, so true - and now she was going to leave him she did so long that his hopes should be fixed on the same Saviour and that she might look forward to a speedy reunion. Then in the most clear manner did he assure her that his whole trust was now in the finished work of his God and Saviour. Utterly helpless in himself he had gone to Christ and was united to him by a living faith and he hoped soon to be permitted to join her in the presence of their Lord".¹¹⁶ However there had not been an open avowal of Maurice's change of views until that Easter Sunday, "although we were all convinced that he saw things in a different light.. the books that he had long delighted in were not those that would have interested him formerly. My brother's writings, Archdeacon Hare's, and many others of the same stamp were read with avidity and he did not hesitate to converse on religious subjects".¹¹⁷

Kell's reply to Gell was that the points raised were merely an indication of Michael Maurice's life-long inconsistencies carried into extreme old age. He looked upon his participation in the Holy Communion as "part and parcel of the failing I have deplored". He believed that the references to the Atonement were couched in the language of piety and devotion rather than as credal statements. He totally refuted the suggestion that

Maurice had forsaken Unitarian opinions but regretted that "his death bed testimony to important truth (was) of such uncertain cast". He had written to a near relative (probably F D Maurice) asking for information, but had received no reply.¹¹⁸ Evidently the family itself had no wish to make the subject a matter for public debate. The family had witnessed Michael Maurice attempting, over many years, to live in love with those who could not share his Unitarian beliefs. Unlike himself, his wife and daughters expressed their contrary opinions with great vigour and he appears at an early stage to have withdrawn from the fight hoping (albeit, in vain) that his younger children would not leave the Unitarian fold. For decades the family had not worshipped together in a Unitarian church. Worship together had been only in mainstream Christian churches since the Southampton years. During the twenty years leading up to Michael Maurice's death, his only son had been striving to prove that the Church of England was the repository of the faith of the Bible. Given these facts and the basically liberal position Michael Maurice had adopted at the beginning of his career, it is not surprising that at the age of eighty-eight he bore little resemblance to the young minister who had shared a pulpit with the dogmatic Joseph Priestley over half a century earlier. His daughter Lucilla was quite convinced of a permanent change in her father: "My mother died in her eightieth year having lived to see her constant prayers for her husband and children fully answered. She knew that they had all chosen that 'better part' which could not be taken from them".¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, to some observers Michael Maurice remained a Unitarian. As late as 1878 a correspondent in Christian Life referred to "a short but impressive service" which Michael Maurice conducted at Hackney in 1846 and observed "this clearly shows that whether holding the actual charge of a congregation or not Michael Maurice is still faithful to his testimony as a Unitarian minister".¹²⁰

Primary influences on F D Maurice

When F D Maurice was born his father was nearly forty years of age and had been active as a Unitarian minister/schoolmaster for twenty years.

"A son whose opinions are most unlike his father's has often learned most from him", Maurice was to write in his later years.¹²¹ He freely acknowledged his debt to the home in which he had been brought up:

"I am the son of a Unitarian minister. I have been ashamed of that origin, sometimes from mere vulgar, brutal flunkeyism, sometimes from religious or ecclesiastical feelings. These I perceive now to have been only one degree less discreditable than the others; they almost cause me more shame as a greater rebellion against a divine mercy. For I now deliberately regard it as one of the greatest mercies of my life that I had this birth and the education which belonged to it. My ends have been shaped for me, rough hew them how I would, and shape has been given to them by my father's function and this name 'Unitarian' more than by any other influences, though I have been exposed to many of the most different kind which have strangely affected, and may appear to some to have entirely disturbed that primary one".¹²²

Later in this thesis, it will be suggested that certain key emphases in F D Maurice's teaching - the Fatherhood of God, Divine Unity, opposition to the penal substitutionary view of the atonement, rejection of contemporary views about original sin and everlasting punishment, and a far reaching and a radical social concern - were all derived from his father's influence and example, so that Sir Frederick Maurice's contention that Michael Maurice did not discuss Unitarian beliefs with his children is most unlikely.¹²³ Lucilla Powell maintains that "he was naturally anxious that his children should embrace his own views. He carefully instructed them, and read with them, the leading Unitarian authors, Priestley, Belsham, Evans, etc., and was rejoiced to see the interest they took in these subjects and the warmth with which they hailed the system so flattering to the pride of human reason".¹²⁴

It is probable that F D Maurice had his own father in mind when he

painted the character Mr Vyvyan in his novel Eustace Conway. Vyvyan was generous to the point of indulgence. "He was literally born to be a father"¹²⁵ and "seemed to think that, as self-denial is the greatest, the hardest of all duties, grown up people should practice more of it than children".¹²⁶ Maurice felt that his father was just and that "he cared for us as much when he punished us as when he commended us".¹²⁷ The rod was little if ever used in Michael Maurice's schoolroom. His pupils discovered that he wanted to save them from the injuries that they would do to themselves by following their own likings. "I believe many a man can say, 'whatever true sentiment of the forbidden I have, whatever in me is not crouching but manly and erect, was nurtured by this fatherly treatment'".¹²⁸ He was determined that his son should believe that to which his "conscientious convictions" led him. Michael Maurice was dissatisfied with the description 'tolerant' since this implied "a certain sense of superiority and almost of contempt" towards those tolerated.¹²⁹ Rather, he had a respect for the views of others and a determination to see what truth there might be in their position. Thus toleration was not enough for F D Maurice either. He was determined to search for the truth in extreme positions, however much they differed from his own. Maurice's childhood happiness was marred by the religious divisions of his family, and yet it was still a family, and he was from his earliest years driven towards a search for the grounds of unity-in-diversity. Unitarianism itself abhorred religious systems and saw creeds as the root cause of Christian division. But with F D Maurice the Unitarian rejection of creeds is transmuted into an abhorrence of sects in themselves united with a determination to reveal to the whole church the truths which were concealed in its dismembered parts.

F D Maurice supplies us with no comprehensive account of his religious upbringing, but the allusions to it scattered throughout his writings suggest that it had a strong rationalist basis. The worship he learned at his father's knee and in his father's chapels was offered to God the Father alone. Throughout Maurice's writings there is a steady emphasis on the Fatherhood of God, one who is saviour, not destroyer. Brought up in the belief of universal restitution, he learned from his father that the idea of eternal punishment could not be equated with a belief in the goodness and mercy of God. By his teens Maurice was already reacting against the cold and impersonal nature of Unitarian worship. This reaction combined with his brief teenage attraction to Evangelicalism led him to stress the spiritual relationship of man to God and sees the beginning of the heart-truth motif which runs like a golden thread through the life and work of Maurice.

As an adult F D Maurice stood out as a strong individual who was not at home in any narrow Anglican group. Neither was it immediately obvious that he had a nonconformist background. The psychological roots of this religious isolation are to be found in his childhood. He felt that as a child he had more of the nonconformist feeling than most children of Dissenters had. "It was communicated to me both by my father and my mother and it entered into me strongly and appeared to penetrate deeply".¹³⁰ The war with France which made Unitarians the least popular of Dissenting groups was certainly a contributory factor in making the Maurices feel isolated. Goring suggests that Maurice, although his father claimed descent from an ejected minister, had no sense of belonging to a Dissenting aristocracy.¹³¹ This may well be because his immediate forebears had effectively cut themselves off from seventeenth

century Dissent. Nevertheless Maurice at an early age took a great interest in the history of Dissent, and valued Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans. He owed much to the direction which this book gave to his thoughts, "even of the forms which my belief took when I became an Episcopalian".¹³² He once told Kingsley that he suspected he had "a more natural affection both for Puritanism and Quakerism than you have".¹³³ Other books he read in childhood included Calamy's Account of the Ejected Ministers and Priestley's Lectures on History and General Policy.¹³⁴ By his own account he was carefully guarded from "fictions of all kinds". The exception was the work of Maria Edgeworth. Her Parent's Assistant, which ran to six volumes, conveyed useful knowledge through stories suitable for children.¹³⁵ The influence of Mrs Maurice is no doubt to be seen here. She came from a wealthier family than her husband and was physically more impressive. She had "a much more lively imagination (than Michael Maurice), a capacity for interests in a number of subjects and an intense individual sympathy", wrote her son.¹³⁶ There is no doubt that Priscilla Maurice had the effect of convincing him that he was a very special person with a specific task to fulfil during his life. She was determined that he should become "a minister of the everlasting Gospel"¹³⁷ and she bestowed upon him an intense affection which may well be connected with the death of her infant son William, two years before the birth of F D Maurice.

Nevertheless, Priscilla Maurice and her strong-minded and argumentative elder daughters did not win him over to their narrow brand of Evangelicalism. Profoundly affected by the painful religious divisions which had been created in his family, F D Maurice was quite clear that faith in a God Whose nature was of a radically different kind to that

believed by Evangelicals was required to heal those divisions. Though Michael Maurice's personality was weaker than Priscilla's, his steady conviction that God was a Father whose love embraced them all suggested to his son that here was a potential for unity that was independent of the varying religious opinions held by his mother and sisters. Emotional pressure from them may well have edged him away from his father's specific denominational allegiance, but it did not mean he rejected positive Unitarian principles. As a result, Maurice built his own understanding of the Christian faith on Unitarian foundations. Throughout his life, he consistently affirmed the unity of God and the universality of His love. His theological tree received fresh grafts and new branches, but nonetheless its Unitarian origins remained substantially recognizable.

Critical role of Michael Maurice

Because F D Maurice believed that it was in the setting of the family that God made Himself known to the individual, it has been necessary to present a lengthy portrait of family life at Frenchay. The certainty of the existence of God, and from this, Maurice's unique conviction of the existence of a spiritual kingdom, came to Maurice as part of his experience of life in the Unitarian home of his childhood. The sense of a real and unbreakable communion with God which was lifeblood to Maurice was felt by the child long before the youth could speak of it or the theologian describe it. In adult life, he might well have called this experience gaining a knowledge of the living God - not learning a religion. Maurice's credal foundation was a belief in man's constant communion with God known as Father. He felt this in the depths of his being and insisted that these feelings could be trusted and formed a

basis for religious commitment. He never doubted that all human beings possessed a faculty enabling them to "see and embrace the divine idea".¹³⁸ This "organ in man which speaks of that which is absolute and eternal"¹³⁹ convinced him of God's nearness, a nearness he first experienced around the family table and in his father's schoolroom.

As a child, Maurice had been "glad to be led by those stronger and more experienced".¹⁴⁰ There was a strength and openness about the spiritual influence of Michael Maurice that in his son became an understanding that truth, whatever its temporal source might be, is so conjoined with Eternal Truth that all other considerations become secondary. The application of this conviction enabled Maurice to catch glimpses of truth in non-Christian religions which might be hidden to others, and to catch clear though (in his view) narrow glimpses of truth in the Roman and Dissenting churches. He was ready to draw attention to these truths, even though he was limited by the convert's psychological necessity to defend his new spiritual home, the Church of England, and declare it the only true national expression of the Church of Christ. Nevertheless, it was under Michael Maurice's roof that he first experienced the diversity of truth and the inevitable clashes which occur when more account is taken of differences that divide than of positive principles that unite. His desire for unity and the difficulties of promoting it were equally the product of his Frenchay childhood.

The richest blessing Maurice received in his formative years was his conviction that God is. He was as certain of this as he was of the ground beneath his feet. This was not a part of life, it was life itself. Moreover, his radical conviction that God was a benevolent

Father was derived from Michael Maurice. The consequences for Maurice's theology of this powerful impression of the love of his Heavenly Father were twofold. Firstly, it would undergird the whole Mauricean edifice, colouring and informing everything he wrote, or spoke, or did. Secondly, it would come to exercise a highly critical influence on the way Maurice presented the ideas of Evangelicals or Tractarians. That is, the Unitarian belief in God's Fatherly love for all mankind encouraged Maurice to hold an inclusive view of the church, contrasted with Evangelicalism which he saw as essentially divisive.¹⁴¹ Again, under his father's influence and example Maurice became convinced that the object of human attention, and therefore the heart of theology, must be the love of God the Father, not the sin of man. He suspected that Tractarians over-emphasised the place of sin,¹⁴² effectively substituting dogma for God.¹⁴³

It will be shown later in this thesis that Maurice's views about eternal life and the state of those who have rejected the love of God reflect the conviction he shared with Michael Maurice that God can never act in any way that is not consistent with this primary aspect of His nature, His benevolence. Maurice differed emphatically from those who saw love secondary to justice as God's primary characteristic, and when Maurice said that the first duty of the church was to "assert the love of God absolutely" he was expressing a view with which his father entirely agreed.¹⁴⁴

Lastly, the belief that God is a Father in loving communion with humanity undergirded Maurice's teaching on the incarnation and the atonement. Christ told men of a Father who would not permit them to be separated

from Him,¹⁴⁵ for as a loving Father He had made man in His own image and man depends totally on God his creator, trusting him and sharing in His divine life.¹⁴⁶ The foundation principle of God as loving Father thrust Maurice forward towards inclusiveness and wholeness, to a view of humanity seen as an organic unity. The debt F D Maurice owed to his Unitarian father goes to the roots of his theology.

NOTES

1. KC (1838 edn) Vol.3, p.285.
2. A Lecture delivered at the opening of the Lower Norwood Working Men's Institute (London, 1860), p.9.
3. Sermons preached in Country Churches (London, 1873), p.326 (hereafter, SCC).
4. SM, p.27.
5. G and J Hague, The Unitarian Heritage (Sheffield, 1986), p.114, and D E Davies 'They Thought for Themselves': A brief look at the history of Unitarianism in Wales (Llandysul, 1982), p.28.
6. R T Jones, "Gweinidogion Ymneilltuol Dinbych yn y Ddeunawfed Ganrif" (Nonconformist ministers at Denbigh in the eighteenth century) in Y Cofiadur, 27 (Mawrth, 1957), pp.41-48.
7. Life, Vol.1, p.6.
8. Ibid., Vol.2, p.435.
9. Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940 (Oxford, 1959), pp.653-654; cf. J G Miall, Congregationalism in Yorkshire (London, 1868), p.323.
10. H McLachlan, Essays and Addresses, pp.160-161.
11. The will is deposited in the Borthwick Institute, York, under Pontefract Deanery wills.
12. M Maurice, MS autobiographical notes (Bayne-Powell papers).
13. Life, Vol.1, p.7. Cf. L Powell, op.cit., p.1.
14. MS letter William Taylor to Michael Maurice, 19 June 1791 (Bayne-Powell papers). Taylor (1765-1836) was a member of a wealthy Dissenting family in Norwich. He travelled in France during the Revolutionary period, and later became an active 'Friend of Peace'.
15. J E Clowes, op.cit., pp.60-61.
16. E Kell, op.cit., pp.407-417.
17. C J Palmer, The Perilustration of Great Yarmouth (3 volumes, Yarmouth 1872-75), Vol.2, p.103. "The family of Hurry were, during the last and at the commencement of the present century, numerous, wealthy and...of some political importance in Yarmouth" (Ibid., p.129).
18. Norfolk Chronicle, 14 February 1807.
19. M Maurice, autobiographical notes. Mr Ives was Mr Hurry's brother-in-law.
20. T and M Hurry-Houghton, Memorials of the family of Hurry of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, and of America, Australia and South Africa (Liverpool, 1926), p.47.
21. D O Thomas, 'George Cadogan Morgan' in Price-Priestley Newsletter, 1979, No.3, p.57.
22. M Maurice, autobiographical notes.
23. A R Ruston, Unitarianism and Early Presbyterianism in Hackney (Oxhey, 1980), p.16.
24. The words are Priestley's. See H W Stephenson, 'Hackney College and William Hazlitt' in TUHS, Vol.4, 1930, p.381.
25. Ibid., pp.377-378. 26. TUHS, Vol.3, pp.368-369.
27. Amelia Alderson (1769-1853), went up from Norwich (which she described to a fellow radical as a 'city of sedition') to the trial of Thomas Hardy. The Aldersons were prepared to emigrate to America in the event of Hardy's conviction. (C L Brightwell, Memorials of the life of Amelia Opie, Norwich, 1854, p.45). The Aldersons and Hurrys were connected - William Hurry's niece Elizabeth married Robert Alderson, a Norwich dissenting minister who later became Recorder of the city. Their grand-daughter Georgina married the

- third Marquis of Salisbury. By then the Aldersons had moved from liberal Dissent to the Church of England. Indeed, Georgina's future father-in-law was shocked because the Aldersons were by now High Church Anglicans (David Cecil, The Cecils of Hatfield House London, 1975, p.226). Walter Wilson had written in the Monthly Repository (Vol.18, 1823, p.394): "A wealthy dissenting family is but rarely known to continue steadfast in the principles of Nonconformity for more than two generations". Thus, Sir John Gladstone, father of the prime minister, moved from Scots Presbyterianism via Renshaw Street Unitarian Chapel in Liverpool to Evangelical Anglicanism, as his prosperity increased. His brother David remained a Unitarian, and one of John's sons (Robertson) returned to Unitarianism on marrying Mary Ellen Jones, daughter of a Liverpool Unitarian banker. (See S G Checkland, The Gladstones: A Family Biography 1764-1851, Cambridge, 1971).
28. But then, as Samuel Kenrick wrote in a letter of April 1792, "the Methodists are the most violent anti-revolutionists we have" (quoted in John Creasey, 'Some Dissenting Attitudes towards the French Revolution' in TUHS, Vol.13, 1966, p.156).
 29. MS letter 27 October 1795, DWL MS.24.86.
 30. TUHS, Vol.6, 1936, pp.165-166. The original letter is at the Unitarian College, Manchester. Priestley saw Arianism as a corruption of pure Christianity. In his view, Jesus was a good man, but totally human, as "divine as a loaf of bread" (Priestley's works, ed. Rutt, Vol.2, p.414.)
 31. M Maurice, Autobiographical notes.
 32. Belsham wrote in 1795 of "the declaration which many have made of their unbelief in the Christian religion, and for desertions from the ministry" (quoted in TUHS, Vol.4, 1930, p.398). Cf. "Another impression of the inroads infidelity was making is provided by the Tusculanum Society, a debating club in Norwich which some young liberals founded in 1793 in the best traditions of free thinking and discussion; the minute book records that on 27 September 1793 the question 'Are the evidences of Christianity, external and internal, sufficiently strong to support its authority and truth?' was carried in the affirmative by only seven to six". (J E Cookson, The Friends of Peace, Cambridge 1982, p.4).
 33. Quoted in F E Mineka, The Dissidence of Dissent: The Monthly Repository, 1806-1838, North Carolina, USA, 1944), p.25.
 34. S Palmer, ed. Letters to Dissenting Ministers from the Rev. Mr Job Orton, 1806, Vol.1, p.90, (quoted in M Watts, The Dissenters from the Reformation to the French Revolution, London, 1978, p.488).
 35. The Inquirer, 13 March 1852. See also J Seed 'Unitarian Ministers as Schoolmasters, 1780-1850', in TUHS, Vol.17, 1982, pp.170-176.
 36. L Powell, op.cit., p.3.
 37. Life, Vol.1, p.14.
 38. A D Murray (editor), John Ludlow - the Autobiography of a Christian Socialist, (London, 1981), p.114.
 39. Life, Vol.2, p.288.
 40. E.g. Michael Maurice to Dawson Turner, 8 February 1812, "will it not be deemed an intrusion for a person so far distant as myself (to) appear there (Norwich)". (Dawson Turner Correspondence, Trinity College, Cambridge). F D Maurice was shy and genuinely humble.
 41. He was also an enthusiastic Whig. "On one occasion (in 1796) Edmund Cobb Hurry, a tall and powerful man, and an ardent supporter of Sir John Jervis, pressed so much upon Mr Jodwell, the other candidate, as to push him off his legs, just as he was about to address the

- electors, which led to a great uproar" (Palmer, op.cit., Vol.1, p.76).
42. William Taylor to Robert Southey, 23 December 1798 (J W Robberds, A Memoir of the life and writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich, (London, 1843), Vol.1, pp.234-235. Robberds adds "He (Michael Maurice) has long relinquished the charge of instructing youth, retaining - in some instances unweakened by the lapse of nearly half a century - the warm esteem and gratitude of his former pupils; and still remembered for his ardently active benevolence by all the social circles through which he has passed in the various stages of a long and useful life" (op.cit., pp.240-241).
 43. See E C Haldane, Memoir of Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., (privately printed, London, 1860), p.221. Hardcastle (1752-1819) was a member of Bury Street Independent Chapel in the City of London, though he often communicated in the Church of England. He was a friend of Thomas Clarkson, and the slavery abolitionists often met at Hatcham, the Hardcastle country residence in Surrey. He was also a key figure in the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. See H Morris, The Founders and First Three Presidents of the Bible Society, (London, 1890). See also J Morrison, Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society (London, 1839), Vol.1, pp.294ff. It was not unusual to find Anglicans sending their children to be educated by Unitarian ministers and schoolmasters. Thus James Stephen (1789-1849) was educated by the Reverend John Prior Estlin in Bristol. Jewish children attended the Reverend John Relly Beard's school in Manchester, and the Reverend Eli Cogan's Walthamstow school numbered Benjamin Disraeli among its pupils. On the other hand, Unitarian boys were not uncommonly educated by Anglicans. Thus William Gaskell's early education was in the hands of a private tutor, the Reverend Joseph Saul, Vicar of Trinity Church, Warrington (B Brill, William Gaskell, 1806-1884, a portrait, Manchester, 1984, p.12).
 44. Kell, op.cit. See also J Browne, History of Congregationalism and memorials of the churches of Norfolk and Suffolk, (London, 1878), p.531: "On his (Michael Maurice's) departure he proposed to the Rev. A Ritchie, of Wrentham, that he should undertake to supply the pulpit, which he accordingly did; and under his guidance a strictly Independent Church was formed here, on the 30th of May, 1815".
 45. L Powell, op.cit., pp.4, 5.
 46. M A Maurice (editor), Memorials of two sisters (London, 1833), p.3.
 47. Michael Maurice to Thomas Sanders, 14 October 1824 (Bayne-Powell papers).
 48. William Jillard Hort to "the Members of the Church of Christ who meet for public worship at Frenchay Chapel" 8 April 1815 (Frenchay Chapel papers).
 49. R Bruce to Michael Maurice (Frenchay Chapel papers).
 50. Michael Maurice to the Frenchay congregation, 30 May 1815 (Frenchay Chapel papers).
 51. L Powell, op.cit., p.7.
 52. Ibid., p.21. When Mrs Maurice showed Edmund the newly-born twins, he chose for one of them the name of the heroine of Coelebs, Lucilla.
 53. Ibid., p.22.
 54. See F W B Bullock, A History of the Parish Church of St Helen, Ore, Sussex, (St Leonard-on-Sea, 1951), pp.40-42.
 55. L Powell, op.cit., p.33.

56. M A Maurice, op.cit., p.5.
57. Life, Vol.1, p.23.
58. E C Haldane, op.cit., pp.293-294.
59. Life, Vol.1, p.20.
60. MS account of this period of the family's life by Lucilla Powell (Bayne-Powell papers).
61. Ibid.
62. L Powell, Annals, pp.176-178.
63. MS by Elizabeth Maurice dated December 1819. This is a 60-page notebook headed "Selection of texts on the Person of Christ compiled from Revd. W Jones's 'Immanuel'" (Bayne-Powell papers).
64. L Powell, op.cit., p.30.
65. Life, Vol.1, p.21.
66. MS letter 17 January 1866, F D Maurice to his son J F Maurice (C.U.L. ADD.MS.7793). (Quoted in McClain, op.cit., p.19).
67. L Powell, op.cit., p.36.
68. Ibid., p.172.
69. Ibid., p.37.
70. MS account by Anne Maurice of the upbringing of the twins (Bayne-Powell papers).
71. L Powell, op.cit., p.14.
72. M A Maurice, op.cit., p.182. The reference is to Richard Baxter's A Call to the Unconverted (1658).
73. See P Sangster, Pity my Simplicity: The Evangelical Revival and the Religious Education of Children 1738-1800 (London, 1963).
74. Life, Vol.1, p.25.
75. L Powell, op.cit., pp.160-162.
76. Ibid., p.166.
77. Life, Vol.1, p.26.
78. Frenchay Chapel papers.
79. Michael Maurice to Mr Hobbs, 18 September 1824 (Frenchay Chapel papers).
80. Frenchay Chapel papers.
81. Christian Life, 9 March 1878. The intention of the anonymous correspondent was to correct the impression given in a previous article that Maurice had been unfaithful "to his testimony as a Unitarian minister".
82. J E Carpenter, op.cit., p.56. The young James Martineau, then only 22, delivered a sermon to the Society the previous day.
83. Anne Maurice's MS account of the upbringing of the twins.
84. L Powell, op.cit., p.72. cf. "As there was no Unitarian Chapel in (Southampton), my father used always to go to hear the somewhat celebrated John Bullar" (Ibid., p.177).
85. Kell, op.cit.
86. Christian Reformer, Vol.2, 1825, p.213.
87. Inland Revenue return (Bayne-Powell papers).
88. Michael Maurice to Thomas Sanders, 25 December 1828 (Bayne-Powell papers).
89. Life, Vol.1, pp.89-90. These events obliged the elder girls to earn their livings. Elizabeth became a companion to one of Gladstone's sitters, and Priscilla began teaching in Brixton. Mary showed the most initiative. She studied Pestalozzi's teaching methods by going to stay at Cheam with Elizabeth Mayo, sister of Dr Charles Mayo, a leading disciple of Pestalozzi. Mary's first school was in her own home in Southampton, and there as at Reading she pioneered the use of Pestalozzi's methods.

90. Kell, op.cit.
91. Life, Vol.1, p.13.
92. Ibid., p.146.
93. Memorials from Journals and Letters of Samuel Clark, M.A., edited by his wife (London, 1878), p.59.
94. Life, Vol.1, p.9.
95. Michael Maurice to Thomas Sanders, 23 November 1825 (Bayne-Powell papers).
96. Michael Maurice to Thomas Sanders, 17 August 1830 (Bayne-Powell papers). Michael Maurice's active work against slavery began during his residence in Bristol, alongside his college contemporary John Rowe. There are references to Clarkson and Maurice working together in R Aspland, op.cit., pp.443-445. F D Maurice furnished his father with information about the West Indian slaves, following a letter he had received from John Sterling, then on the island of St Vincent (Life, Vol.1, pp.133-134). Involvement in the anti-slavery movement was important in breaking down the isolation of Unitarianism in the first half of the nineteenth century. See D C Stange, British Unitarians against American Slavery, 1833-1865, (New Jersey, 1984), and G M Ditchfield, 'Manchester College and anti-slavery', in B Smith (editor), Truth, Liberty, Religion: Essays celebrating two hundred years of Manchester College (Oxford, 1986), pp.185-224.
97. Unitarians, Quakers and General Baptists associated themselves with the work of the non-sectarian British and Foreign Bible Society, but Unitarian membership was fiercely contested during the period 1810-20, a time of ultra-Toryism. Unitarians became scapegoats for anti-dissenting hostility, and local auxiliaries passed anti-Socinian laws. See R Martin, Evangelicals United: ecumenical stirrings in pre-Victorian Britain, 1795-1830 (New Jersey, 1983), pp.132-139. Michael Maurice was also an active supporter of the Christian Tract Society, founded in 1809 in response to the Evangelicals' Religious Tract Society. The Unitarian society distributed cheap moral and religious pamphlets of a non-controversial character. On a journey from Norfolk to Clifton, Maurice dined "at the anniversary of the Christian Tract Society" where, among others, he was in the company of his associate, William Frend (Michael Maurice to Dawson Turner, 21 November 1812 [Dawson Turner MSS, Trinity College, Cambridge]).
98. Michael Maurice to Thomas Sanders, 25 November 1825 (Bayne-Powell papers).
99. Michael Maurice to Thomas Sanders, 17 August 1830 (Bayne-Powell papers).
100. Michael Maurice to Lant Carpenter, 15 February 1820. (Lant Carpenter MSS, Manchester College, Oxford). The leading role played by Unitarians in the anti-war movement is described in J E Cookson, op.cit.
101. Kell, op.cit.
102. Michael Maurice to Thomas Sanders, November 1826 (Bayne-Powell papers).
103. Kell, op.cit.
104. Life, Vol.1, p.116.
105. M Maurice, John Bawn.
106. M Maurice, John Bawn, p.35.
107. MS paper among Bayne-Powell papers.
108. Ibid., p.39.

109. Michael Maurice to Dawson Turner, 21 November 1812 (Dawson Turner correspondence, Trinity College, Cambridge).
110. M Maurice, John Bawn, p.49.
111. Kell, op.cit.
112. Letter to the Editor, Christian Reformer, 1855, pp.521-522.
113. L Powell, op.cit., p.127.
114. MS Prayer by Michael Maurice (Bayne-Powell papers).
115. L Powell, op.cit., p.126.
116. Ibid., pp.117-118.
117. Ibid., p.126. Certainly, by 1846 Maurice was not a subscriber to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and may never have been one (Annual Report of the Association for 1846). Yet in the same year his name is among the signatories to a letter in The Inquirer (19 September 1846), who describe themselves as "ministers of the Gospel" who admit to "worshipping one God and Father".
118. Christian Reformer, 1855, pp.560-562.
119. L Powell, op.cit., p.174. Mrs Powell herself underlined the word 'all'.
120. Christian Life, 9 March 1878.
121. SM, p.27.
122. Life, Vol.1, p.13.
123. Ibid., p.27.
124. L Powell, op.cit., pp.10 and 11. A passing reference to demonology suggests that Bible study in the Michael Maurice household had a strong rationalist bias: "having been taught from my youth to explain the cases of casting out unclean spirits in any way rather than one which should assume that they were unclean spirits, and that Christ did cast them out" (Letter from Maurice to R H Hutton, affixed to Tracts for Priests and People, No.14, London, 1862, p.71).
125. F D Maurice, Eustace Conway, (London, 1834), Vol.1, p.15. (Hereafter, EC). This, Maurice's only novel, emphasises the importance of early surroundings and the influence of parents and siblings on the formation of character.
126. Ibid., Vol.3, p.171.
127. The Epistles of St John, p.72 (hereafter, EJ).
128. The Conscience: Lectures on Casuistry, pp.129-130 (hereafter TC). Cf. Life, Vol.1, p.9.
129. Life, Vol.1, p.7.
130. MS letter F D Maurice to J F Maurice, 17 January 1866 (C.U.L. ADD. MS.7793). (McClain, op.cit., p.19).
131. J Goring, Where to belong religiously: Martineau, Maurice and the Unitarian Dilemma, (London, 1987), p.9.
132. Life, Vol.1, p.19.
133. Ibid., Vol.2, p.276. Maurice valued Puritanism for its "strong assurance of a divine calling and of God as a personal ruler... which enabled them to assert a real divine government of the world" (Ibid., p.133).
134. Life, Vol.1, p.37.
135. Ibid., p.19.
136. Ibid., p.14.
137. L Powell, op.cit., p.164 and p.172.
138. Maurice's essay on Shelley in The Athenaeum, 7 March 1828.
139. KC, Vol.1, p.195.
140. EJ, p.107.
141. Life, Vol.2, p.241.

- 142. Life, Vol.1, p.182.
- 143. Life, Vol.2, p.572.
- 144. LIS, Vol.1, p.299.
- 145. The Prayer Book and the Lord's Prayer, (London 1902), p.270.
(Hereafter, PB).
- 146. EC, Vol.3, p.116.

CHAPTER THREE

Steps towards ordination

The religious controversies raging at home made the thought of becoming a Unitarian minister - indeed a minister of religion of any kind - abhorrent to the young F D Maurice.¹ When 1822 opened he was staying with the Hardcastle family at Hatcham, a centre of Evangelical activity. There was a suggestion that he might become a barrister, and he was sent to study for a time with Thomas Clarkson (1798-1837), son of the abolitionist, related to the Hardcastles by marriage. Mrs Maurice was happy that he should come under Evangelical influences and urged him to seek the spiritual acquaintance of a woman called Lucy. The outcome was not at all what Priscilla Maurice anticipated, because Lucy was a friend of the Scottish lay theologian and mystic, Thomas Erskine, who had totally rejected his native Calvinism. Maurice wrote to Lucy describing himself "as a being destined to a few short years of misery here, as an earnest of and preparation for that more enduring state of wretchedness and woe".² Discussion at home about total depravity had made him see himself as one "born but to weep and groan and die",³ and little appeared to be left in the boy's conscious mind of his father's teaching about a God of love who offers eternal life. His later teaching about the fatherly love of God for all mankind, the surfacing of ideas long forced to lay dormant, was a powerful reaction to early unhappiness. Though these themes were the stuff of religion to Michael Maurice, they had been powerfully challenged by his wife and daughters, and the boy Maurice briefly succumbed to the influence of the women in his family.

When Lucy and Frederick met she cautioned him against assuming that any individual was destined for misery, and that it was monstrous to regard

God as capable of such a thing. On the contrary, she told him, God's character was one of love, and the trials through which he was passing were a progress forward and not downward. The suggestion by Sir Frederick Maurice that this was "the first time that this idea had ever been presented to his mind"⁴ seems unlikely given Michael Maurice's teaching about a God who was ever merciful and gracious and never desired a sinner's death. What was being reflected in Maurice's expectation of everlasting punishment was the extreme Calvinism of his elder sisters.

The thought of going to University was now in his mind, but Michael Maurice had strong feelings against him going to Cambridge or Oxford. "I wished to go to the Bar, and my father, with his usual generosity and liberality, but with a degree of pain, which I ought to have appreciated, consented. Then it was suggested that I had better study at one of the Universities, and Dublin was thought of as being free from tests. But as they were not required at Cambridge before taking a degree, some of my friends urged that there was no sufficient reason why I should cross the Channel".⁵ He later wrote to William Whewell: "I went up to Cambridge in the year 1823. My parents were Dissenters and it was their wish as well as mine that I should not take a degree. They left it however entirely to my discretion".⁶ He arrived at Trinity College, Cambridge in the October of 1823 full of enthusiasm, and raving "about Cambridge before I set my foot within its walls, talked about the perfection of all its places, the excellence of all its tutors, and the fine gentlemanly spirit of its resident men".⁷

Until his arrival at Trinity College Maurice had virtually no experience of worship according to the Anglican tradition, but now he was required

to attend chapel services at 7.00am each day. Many undergraduates complained about the practice,⁸ but for F D Maurice it was an introduction to the contents of the Book of Common Prayer, and even if the services were bare and lacking in dignity they were still very different from what he had experienced in his father's Unitarian chapel or in the Baptist churches at Bristol. Maurice had an enormous respect for the Prayer Book and the Trinity services laid the foundation of his familiarity with its contents. One of those who was going with him to the chapel each day was his friend John Sterling (1806-1844) whom he met only a few months after his arrival in Cambridge. 'Romantic' friendships between young men were now very much in fashion and were quite open. The affectionate relationship between Maurice and John Sterling was succeeded a little later by one far better known, that between Arthur Hallam and Alfred Tennyson. Maurice and his friend were active members of a select 'Conversazione Society', the Apostles, centred at Trinity and in which religion, politics, science and poetry were debated by young men of high intellectual calibre.⁹ Maurice may have been drawn into this society simply because he came from Frenchay, home of some of the founder-members. The Brice brothers, Henry Thompson and Henry Harford, all early members of the Apostles, came from Bristol itself or nearby villages. Another was Maurice's friend John Stock,¹⁰ whose father, a well-known Bristol physician, had been converted from Unitarianism through the efforts of Mary and Anne Maurice.¹¹ In the early days, the Apostles tended towards soul-searching Evangelicalism and they exchanged desperately revealing letters with one another. Under the leadership of Maurice and Sterling it developed from introspection into a learned literary debating society. His moral and intellectual powers established him as a leader of the Apostles, and at the annual dinner in 1834 he was

toasted "as the author" of the club.¹² He continued to acknowledge his debt to the Apostles and considered the bonds which connected him with his Cambridge friends "very sacred".¹³

In October, 1825, he moved to Trinity Hall to read Law, though he admitted that the Bar appealed to him only as a means of avoiding a painful decision about a career as a minister of religion. Much of his time was now spent in producing the Metropolitan Quarterly, an undergraduate magazine. He took a first in Civil Law, but refused to declare himself a member of the Church of England, and so left Cambridge without a degree - possibly sacrificing a Fellowship.¹⁴ He went to London with Sterling, wrote articles for the Westminster Review and joined others in purchasing, in July 1828, the Athenaeum magazine, of which he became editor and to which Julius Hare (his Cambridge tutor) and some of the Apostles contributed.¹⁵ Occasionally he took part in debates at the London Debating Society, where he met John Stuart Mill. But his spirits had fallen since the heady Cambridge days, home circumstances had deteriorated, and he could see little purpose in life. Nevertheless some sense of shape was being given to his life as a closing passage of his novel Eustace Conway indicates:

"Our life has two divisions - during the first we are occupied in girding our armour, during the second in using it...do not be discouraged; the worst of your toil is over, for henceforth you will know who are your enemies, and upon whom you must depend for succour. You have learned we are not men unless we are free, and that we are not free unless we are living in subjection to the law which made us so. Keep these truths constantly in your heart, and you are safe;¹⁶ but the only proof that they are there is, that you are acting".

As a pointer to the way in which Maurice's religious thought was developing, this is a revealing paragraph. Firstly it indicates a reflection on Coleridge's insistence on the place of the Will in the

concept of faith; secondly there is an echo of the Christian Platonist insistence on the application of moral principles to daily life; and thirdly there is the suggestion that valid feelings arise from acting in Christian obedience. He was to remain a Christian whose direct and personal encounter with God was a self-authenticating experience.

Eustace Conway gave Maurice the opportunity of describing the impressions of his childhood, and his relationships with parents and sisters. His sister Emma did him a great service when she encouraged him to complete the novel, believing he had something to say and would be the better for saying it. Maurice was throughout life a deeply emotional person and the novel enabled him to clarify "some few of my own vicissitudes of feeling".¹⁷

Ordination

Maurice's sister Anne had died early in 1826, the family having just settled in Southampton for the sake of the health of the others. "Mrs Maurice is far from well, dear Emma is extremely weak and scarcely ever ceases coughing, Priscilla's eyes have suffered greatly since the smallpox", wrote Michael Maurice.¹⁸ The Athenaeum failed to prove a financial success and ceased publication in 1828, and Michael Maurice had lost almost all of the family money in Spanish Constitutional Party bonds. Emma was dying, and Maurice returned home to tutor the twins (Esther and Lucilla), to nurse Emma, and to complete his novel. His relationship with Emma had always been close and now deepened. His semi autobiographical story was subtitled the Brother and Sister, and he might have called it Ellen, or even Emma. Conversations with his sister deepened what beliefs he had but made him realise that his moral convictions were shallow.¹⁹

He was now considering the possibility of returning to Cambridge, though he remained undecided as to ultimate plans. The question of his becoming a clergyman had "occurred to me as a subject of consideration" but he thought it would be six or seven years ahead, if ever.²⁰ In the event, he did not return to Cambridge. Sterling proposed that he should go to Oxford and through the good offices of William Jacobson he became an undergraduate once more and entered Exeter College, Oxford.²¹ Hare was dismayed; he had urged Maurice to join his contemporaries as a Bachelor at Cambridge.²²

He was in Oxford at the end of 1829, and a letter to Hare indicates that he was much closer to the possibility of ordination than he had been at the start of the year:

"If I could hope to combine in myself something of that freedom and courage for which the young men I knew at Cambridge were remarkable, with something more of solidity and reverence for what is established, I should begin to fancy that I had some useful qualities for a member of the English Church. At present the difficulties which surround clergymen seem to be so overwhelming, that, even with a strong impression of the grandeur of the office, and of the possibility of entering it with right views, I almost shrink from the thought of encountering them".²³

Admiration for the academic achievements of the parish clergy appears in Eustace Conway too: "What books (they write)...the possessions of immortality, treatises of deep thought and accomplished learning, touching the foundations of laws and the heart of religion".²⁴ It was clear that his disinclination to embrace the office of an Anglican clergyman was waning rapidly. He had begun writing the novel in 1828, but by the end of the following year he was at Oxford. On 1 December 1829 Emma wrote in her diary, "O! he is safe - safe for eternity".²⁵ Two days later he matriculated at Exeter College and subscribed to the

Thirty-Nine Articles.

His own account indicates that he was looking for "a deliverer from an overwhelming weight of selfishness". He found it impossible to trust in any Being who did not hate selfishness, and such a Being was "altogether different from the mere image of good nature I have seen among Universalists. He was also very different from the mere Sovereign whom I heard of amongst Calvinists".²⁶ He reveals his basic convictions at this time in a letter to his sister Priscilla which contained, even at this early stage, vital principles that he continued to embrace throughout his life. "The death of Christ," he wrote, "is...actually and literally the death of you and me, and the whole human race. To believe that we have any self is the devil's lie...we have each a life, our only life - a life not of you or me, but a Universal life in Him".²⁷

He read Erskine's book The Brazen Serpent early in 1831 and from it not only gained comfort, but a vision of a wider gospel than he had experienced either in Cambridge or in his family circle.²⁸ Emma's continuing concern for his spiritual welfare, and the influence of Erskine which moderated the extreme Evangelical views of his sisters, removed the final obstacles, and he set the seal on his conversion by being re-baptised on 29 March 1831. Emma died just over three months later.

He was away from Oxford during the summer term in order to stay at the bedside of the dying Emma. He took a second class in theology in the autumn, and stayed at Oxford for a short time coaching pupils. In letters to his father he described what Christ's incarnation had come to

mean to him. It enabled him to know God and to love his fellow-men. The one great cry of human nature was satisfied "in the person of a Man, a Man conversing with us living among us, entering into all our infirmities and temptations, and passing into all our conditions".²⁹ He had discovered the foundation of the social gospel he was to preach in the coming years.

From May to August, 1832, Maurice was with his mother at Ryde, taking pupils. He again returned to Oxford in the autumn, intending to settle for some time, with pupils, when Joseph Stephenson invited him to come and live with him at his rectory at Lympsham, as a preparation for Holy Orders.³⁰ Stephenson felt that this would bring Maurice closer to a decision he would otherwise be unlikely to make because of his extreme humility. Maurice accepted the invitation and joined the Millenarian Stephenson in January 1833. This was not entirely inappropriate for a young man from a Unitarian background, since Unitarians from the days of Whiston and Priestley conceived their world view in terms of the fulfilment of Biblical prophecy. At the time of the French Revolution and again during the period of the reform movement 1830-32 - that is, at this crucial stage of Maurice's development - there was a revival of Messianic expectation.³¹ Further, Millenarianism's emphasis on the social character of Christianity was shared by Unitarians. Maurice learned from Stephenson "to speak of Christ as a King, and His Church as a Kingdom".³² The Millenarians taught Maurice to turn his thoughts away "from the notion of Heaven which makes us indifferent to the future condition of the earth".³³

Maurice was now only a few months away from his ordination to the

ministry of the Church of England, though no first appointment (title) had been offered to him until William Harding, tutor at Wadham and Rector of Bubbenhall, called at Lympsham Rectory. He offered Maurice the curacy - indeed, sole charge - at Bubbenhall, a village of some 250 people between Coventry and Leamington. Maurice accepted, and set off in November 1833, in the company of his sister Priscilla, to learn more about the parish and its inhabitants. The parishioners had never had a resident minister and made it clear that they did not want one by refusing to prepare accommodation for him in the village. Maurice replied that he would pitch a tent in the churchyard and lodge there. The people gave way, a house was made ready, and he moved in with Priscilla as housekeeper.³⁴ When he was ordained deacon on 26 January 1834 by Bishop Henry Ryder of Lichfield he had reached a milestone in his spiritual pilgrimage.

Maurice's letters to his father outlining the development of his faith as he moved towards Anglican Orders stand in remarkable contrast to those written on similar subjects by his elder sisters. The Calvinism they espoused involved the total rejection of Unitarian belief, and Maurice has described the distress this caused him when he later reflected on the suffering borne by his father and the upheaval in the family. His sisters' interpretation of Calvinism raised in Maurice's mind questions about the character of God, effectively reinforcing Unitarian belief in God's benevolence, since he found the Calvinist view unacceptable. Maurice, the only son and the middle child of the family, had a different temperament to that of his sisters. As far as he could, he avoided causing pain to his father. In an attempt to bring back to his family a sense of unity, he emphasised the things that held them together. When

in 1832 he made the most critical decision of his life, the move from Unitarianism to the Church of England, he presented this decision to his father in terms of a natural development of the convictions they both held about the ways of a loving heavenly Father. He told Michael Maurice that he needed some means of knowing God as his friend, a thirst which Unitarianism could not satisfy. There was no suggestion of rejecting any part of Michael Maurice's faith - rather, he was building upon basic convictions they had in common. He prayed that they might each have grace to test their faiths by the standard of "the prophets and patriarchs, the martyrs and apostles, the saints of every age".³⁵ It was an invitation to his father to join him on a voyage of discovery, certain that there was more and more to be unfolded as their eyes were opened to God's manifestation of Himself in Jesus. The ambiguity surrounding Michael Maurice's religious views in later life suggests that father and son remained very close, the father never quite becoming a Trinitarian, the son never losing his respect for Unitarianism. Indeed, F D Maurice's Unitarian critics regarded him as "worshipping in an imaginary church of his own".³⁶ They perceived that he had a prophetic gift for discerning truth even when it was hidden in an opponent's camp, but found it considerably more difficult to understand why Maurice identified those truths exclusively with the Church of England.

He described his feelings at the time of his ordination in a letter to his father: "They may be summed up in a desire for greater self-abasement and a more perfect and universal charity". Yet his vision was broad - he saw himself as "the minister of a Church which is called Catholic and universal". He intended to build this universal charity on the conviction that God called all men to know Him, "that is know

Truth".³⁷ Thus, as he made the irrevocable step of becoming an Anglican clergyman, he took with him a three-fold cord which bound him to his Unitarian foundations - the continuing search for truth, charity that had a Loving Father as its source, and a conviction that Christianity proclaims "universal brotherhood".³⁸

What has been described in this chapter is of course only a part of Maurice's story. To appreciate the full flavour of his apparent conversion involves us next not so much in a simple retracing of his steps over the preceding dozen years, as an attempt to see the events from a different perspective, the impact of Romanticism.

NOTES

1. Life, Vol.1, p.175.
2. Ibid., p.43.
3. Words from a hymn by Rowland Hill, quoted in Sangster, op.cit., p.142.
4. Life, loc.cit.
5. Life, Vol.1, p.175.
6. Undated MS letter c.1840 F D Maurice to William Whewell (Whewell MSS, Trinity College, Cambridge).
7. Life, Vol.1, p.58.
8. As, for example, did Milnes. See J Pope-Hennessy, Monckton Milnes: The Years of Promise 1809-1851, (London, 1949), p.11.
9. On the Apostles, see F Brookfield, The Cambridge Apostles (London, 1906) and P Allen, The Cambridge Apostles: The Early Years (Cambridge, 1978). R B Martin, in Tennyson: The Unquiet Heart (Oxford, 1980), pp.80-96, describes the Society just after Maurice had left it.
10. Stock (1804-1867) went up to Trinity in 1821. He was called to the Bar in 1827, and became Recorder of Winchester and Exeter, and finally a Judge of the Provost Court.
11. Alexander Gordon's article on Lant Carpenter in DNB says that it was Dr Stock, "a zealous convert to Unitarianism" who drafted the letter of invitation to Lewin's Mead Chapel to Carpenter. Later, Maurice's elder sisters invited Dr Stock to attend the sickbed of a Baptist minister "to see how a Christian could die". Lucilla Powell (op.cit. pp.39-42), claims this experience re-converted the Doctor to Evangelicalism.
12. Life, Vol.1, p.165.
13. Ibid., p.547. Not that he had a high opinion of the current University educational system, which was "very ill calculated for the objects which it professes to answer". (Life, Vol.1, p.71). Hence he supported the attack on the Universities in the Edinburgh Review, Vol.43 (1826). He believed it would "delight" his father, so the views expressed in the article were no doubt in line with the criticism voiced by Unitarians.
14. Ibid., pp.72-73.
15. On the Athenaeum, see R E Turner, James Silk Buckingham (London, 1934), and L A Marchand, The Athenaeum: a mirror of Victorian Culture (Chapel Hill, USA, 1941).
16. EC, Vol.3, p.287.
17. Life, Vol.1, pp.178-9. See also Cleve Want, 'Frederick Denison Maurice and Eustace Conway' in Anglican Theological Review (October, 1972), pp.330-342. Samuel Clark wrote: "Last week I read Eustace Conway, the novel which Fred Maurice wrote and vainly tried to get back again out of the publisher's hands. It is wonderfully characteristic of the author in parts but he has been constrained to make more of a tale of it than I think he would have done if he had not been writing for a perverted taste. The mental experience of Eustace is admirable, congenial beyond all praise. Much of the work is full of nature and truth. It took me captive and made me a fool and yet is far from being a good novel. (Clark's Memorials, p.39).
18. MS letter M Maurice to Mr Hobbs, 21 March 1827. (Frenchay Chapel papers).
19. Life, Vol.1, p.178. Maurice thought his sister Emma was both "wise

- and devout". Her father said "her patience and fortitude furnish a useful lesson" (M Maurice to Lant Carpenter 15 February 1820, Manchester College MSS).
20. Life, Vol.1, p.93.
 21. Jacobson, subsequently Bishop of Chester, was born in Yarmouth in 1803 and was brought up a Dissenter. He married Dawson Turner's youngest daughter, Eleanor.
 22. Life, Vol.1. p.100.
 23. Ibid., p.103.
 24. EC, Vol.2, p.88.
 25. M Maurice, op.cit., p.278.
 26. Life, Vol.2, p.15.
 27. Life, Vol.1, p.106.
 28. Ibid., p.121.
 29. Ibid., p.136.
 30. On Maurice's connection with Stephenson, see McClain, op.cit., pp.54-62.
 31. See J F C Harrison, The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780-1850 (London, 1979) and W H Oliver, Prophets and Millenialists: The uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790's to the 1840's (Auckland, New Zealand, 1978). Also, D N Hempton "Evangelicalism and Eschatology" in JEH (Vol.31, 1980).
 32. Life, Vol.1, p.167.
 33. Ibid., p.243.
 34. Life, Vol.1, p.153. The memoirs of Augustus Hare supply further evidence for Priscilla's enthusiasm for parish life. She was a frequent guest at Hurstmonceaux, "always full of plans for reforming the parish and tireless in pursuit of the sins of the parishioners" (M Barnes, Augustus Hare: A Victorian Gentleman, London, 1984, p.38).
 35. Life, Vol.1, p.133.
 36. The Inquirer, 12 November 1853.
 37. Life, Vol.1, pp.158-159.
 38. Ibid., p.166.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Years of Transition

During the 1820s, an important transitional period, Maurice emerged from a sheltered Unitarian household, albeit torn by the fervid Evangelicalism of some of its members, into an intellectual and religious atmosphere charged with the new spirit of Romanticism. On the one hand, home influences drove him to take a religious view of life, and on the other, the same influences induced a powerful psychological drive towards a unifying philosophy of life. By the early 1830s, these twin drives had produced in Maurice a faith in which Christian doctrine is united with his recent discovery of Platonic ideas and deeply coloured by contemporary Romanticism. Maurice's vision of Christ as the spring and source of life,¹ the primal unity sustaining all the intercourse and society of mankind,² is one which closely resembles the Romantic principle of 'dynamic organicism' which was replacing the static mechanism of the previous century.³ Maurice was developing a religious philosophy strong enough to contain the diversities inherent in the situation at home. His deep affection and respect for his father and an unwillingness to alienate himself from him, as some of his elder sisters had done a decade earlier, prompted Maurice to build his own faith on what he believed to be the positive principles of Unitarianism, with far reaching consequences for the theological positions he eventually established. He received little or no help from main-stream Anglicanism in arriving at the 1830 position. Several of his greatest helpers were laymen - the philosopher-poet Coleridge, the lawyer-mystic Erskine of Linlathen, the politician Edmund Burke. Several were seen by their own Church of Scotland as heretics - Edward Irving, Alexander Scott, and John McLeod Campbell. He was helped by others with backgrounds equally

diverse - the Baptist preacher Robert Hall, the Millenarian Joseph Stephenson, and Julius Hare, foremost German scholar of his day. All of them (in the words of Maurice's friend John Sterling) had "expansive hearts and searching intellects"⁴ and were gradually moving towards the truth.

Maurice's arrival in Cambridge in the third decade of the nineteenth century coincided with the opening of a new era in English thought as the intellectual isolation characteristic of the previous quarter-of-a-century gave way to fresh ideas. By 1823 English readers and travellers were beginning to absorb influences from Germany with which the names of Kant and Schelling, Herder and Lessing, Schleiermacher and Hegel are associated. Contacts with Germany were probably greater than has been previously thought - thus Julius Hare on a visit to Bonn in 1828 contacted Schleiermacher, Schlegel and Niebuhr.⁵ Coleridge, the crucial mediator and re-formulator of some of their ideas, had already published a considerable amount, some of which was known to Maurice before he arrived at Trinity. Schleiermacher was being translated into English by Connop Thirlwall (a fellow of Trinity), who (with Julius Hare) made a vital contribution to the new understanding of history with the publication of their translation of Niebuhr's History of Rome in 1828/1832. A new generation of Unitarian teachers, men like Martineau, Tayler and Thom, were familiar with life in Germany and a number of them took their holidays or sabbatical leave there. Tayler told his son that no one pretending to a liberal education should fail to be acquainted with the work of Niebuhr.⁶ Nevertheless for at least another twenty years the main concern of English scholarship, as Rogerson has pointed out, was to keep German Biblical criticism out of England.⁷ The general suspicion

of German theology was voiced by Hugh James Rose, who, two years after Maurice arrived in Cambridge, delivered his famous series of lectures on The State of Protestant Religion in Germany at Great St Mary's, announcing what he saw as the "ravages of rationalism". E B Pusey travelled in Germany and met many of the leading thinkers and in 1828 issued a reply to Rose more sympathetic to the new theology. Maurice was familiar with the work of all these scholars, and knew some of them personally before he was in his mid-twenties. As one of Hare's students he was probably stimulated to learn German. Though his knowledge of the language remained "miserably defective"⁸ he was helped by his first wife, Annie Barton, whom he married in 1837, and who could read and write German. There is clear evidence in The Kingdom of Christ that he was aware of developments in Germany and France during the previous few decades.

Theological isolation

The theological scene in England between 1800 and 1820 was static and showed little sign of intellectual vitality. Muirhead, in tracing the development of Kant and Hegel in England, comments that "while in political matters, in physical science, and even in a sense in general literature, England was in close touch with continental life, in the matter of philosophical speculation there was a singular want of interest in what was being thought and written on the other side of the Channel or the German Ocean".⁹ England thus stood isolated from those influences which had already brought about notable developments abroad, particularly in the field of Biblical criticism.¹⁰ Knowledge of Kant's work gained ground during the 1820s, and by the end of the decade his name was widely known, chiefly due to the work of Coleridge, Carlyle and De Quincey.

Later in the century, Maurice himself played a distinct part in improving the reputations in England of Kant and his successors, not so much by personal sympathy with their view, as by his characteristic effort to represent their opinions faithfully.¹¹ He had a high regard for the personality of Schleiermacher and was undoubtedly familiar at first hand with his writings.¹² The Unitarians too made a notable contribution to the spread of German theological concepts. Henry Crabb Robinson and William Taylor pioneered the introduction of German ideas into England, and John Kenrick at Manchester College was teaching German from the early 1820s onwards.¹³ In general, however, the effects of the intellectual isolation of England were long lasting. A reviewer in the Prospective Review felt in 1846 that "a good rough wind from Germany" would do the world of benefit for Oxford.¹⁴ In 1847 Maurice commented that Schleiermacher could still be popularly described as having a "blasphemous temper" and his works were virtually unobtainable in English.¹⁵ Not until the publication of Essays and Reviews in 1860 could it be claimed that the walls of isolation were finally breached.

This isolation and stagnancy was characteristic too of the theology of the Evangelical movement. It had its scholars, pre-eminently Isaac Milner, but the thought was narrow and it kept its distance from art and science. Human learning and achievement could corrupt simple faith. Religion was essentially brought to man from outside, and thus the historic process and human experience were neglected.¹⁶ William Wilberforce's Practical View, first published in 1797, remained the textbook of the movement, and by the mid 1820s it had reached its fifteenth edition. It was aggressive practically rather than theologically, setting men to work to reform manners, free the slaves,

and distribute the scriptures. But there issued from Evangelicalism no reformulation of theology to take account of the challenges of the changing situation. Martineau saw the Evangelicals as having a "faint appreciation of scholarship, and entire dislike of philosophy".¹⁷ Yet with its concern with "feeling" Evangelicalism shared, via Wesley, Whitefield and Howell Harris, a common ancestry in Pietism with Kant and Schleiermacher. Coleridge noted that the Evangelical poet Cowper had been one of the first to "reconcile the heart with the head".¹⁸ Unfortunately, the development of the seed was stunted by Evangelicalism's reactionary attitude to scripture, which found it impossible to accommodate the human contribution.

Romanticism

As the third decade of the century proceeded, so fresh winds began to blow through university lecture halls and common rooms. The French Revolution and its immediate effects began to be seen as an interruption, and thinkers like Burke, Coleridge and Wordsworth stressed continuity and the organic nature of society, themes which found a warm response in the young Maurice. History began to be seen as the process through which God educated mankind. Scripture was not simply a record of that process, but part of it, and a new understanding of inspiration was needed. That great transitional influence called Romanticism demanded substantial changes of emphasis in theology as well as in every other branch of human experience. F D Maurice by his mid thirties was very familiar with the effects of the transition:

"A dynamical philosophy has gradually superseded a mechanical one in those countries where philosophy is considered of a distinct substantive value, and in spite of the influence of trade proper, and trade political, is endeavouring to supplant it in England also".¹⁹

The fourth chapter of The Kingdom of Christ (on religious movements) indicates Maurice's close acquaintance with the influence of Romanticism. The change is to be especially noticed in the value placed on "feeling". Maurice says:

"Religious men are in vain besought to believe that the great evidences of the divine existence and character are to be found in the outward universe; their tendency, as we have seen, is to reflect almost exclusively upon the feelings which belong to themselves".²⁰

Maurice's letters and sermons used characteristically Romantic modes of expression. The laws of the universe revealed themselves in "the unfolding of a flower (which) may teach us more of the birth and growth of all things than we can obtain by reflecting on the whole Cosmos".²¹ His thinking has become dynamic: "How strongly have I been convinced lately that we spend half our time in thinking of faith, hope and love, instead of believing, hoping and loving!", he wrote to his sister Priscilla while in his twenties.²² He told his friend Hort that he recognised the devil not by theological argument, "but I know by what I feel".²³

Romanticism in its theological aspect reacted dramatically to the thought of the previous generation which Newman, for example, saw as dry and superficial. Maurice noted that it had seemed "utterly strange to men in the eighteenth century that human beings should exhibit any spiritual feelings or energies".²⁴ Men were recovering what Stephen Sykes has described as "the tradition of inwardness".²⁵ Unitarianism had largely ignored this tradition. Yet as early as 1805 when Robert Aspland came to Hackney he commented that Belsham's appeals to the intellect of his hearers had "indisposed them to appeals to feeling".²⁶ The next generation of Unitarians were alert to these dangers and admitted that

the rationalism of their forefathers had "exerted a restraining influence on the field which ought to have been left clear for the development of emotion".²⁷ Romanticism, though not totally opposed to structure, pleaded that a place should be given to life and feeling. It concerned itself with power rather than pattern, the storm and thrust of life rather than the cold, calculating, predictable necessarianism of Priestley and Belsham. Romanticism saw human nature in all its depths and largeness, gloried in its plenitude, variety and contradictions, and with the watchword "inclusiveness" sought to weave the whole into a harmony.

Men "recovering the feeling that they had strange powers with them"²⁸ surveyed the amazing universe they inhabited and recognized a wholeness, a unifying, creative energy that embraced it and "rolls through all things" as Wordsworth put it.²⁹ There was a revival of the spirit of wonder and mystery, a sense of sympathy between man and nature, and the poets gave voice to the awe and joy of the rediscovery.³⁰ Maurice saw Wordsworth and Coleridge as performing a work for God, as they sought to give a religious interpretation of the universe.³¹ He reflected on the impact of the universe upon him in the depths of his soul and responded with the whole of his being as the feelings of his inner heart brought him into a living, vital communion with God. Here for Maurice was proof that he was a spiritual being. Maurice valued Coleridge for setting out to show that man's feelings can be trusted and that personal experience can provide a valid base for a reasonable faith.

Maurice and Coleridge

Like Maurice, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) came to Trinitarian

belief after experiencing Unitarianism. At Cambridge he had associated with Unitarians including Benjamin Flower, George Dyer and Charles Lamb.³² He admired Priestley as "patriot and saint, and sage".³³ He preached regularly in Unitarian chapels, but was averse to becoming a Unitarian minister, considering it only "as a less evil than starvation".³⁴ To solve his financial problems he almost became Unitarian minister at Shrewsbury, but was relieved through the generosity of the Wedgwoods, who gave him an annuity for life of £150. His transition from Unitarianism involved profound reflection on the New Testament, leading him to the conclusion that Socinianism was alien to its teaching.³⁵ Further, as he came to lay greater emphasis on the spiritual validity of feelings, so he became convinced of man's need for redemption. Important for his influence on Maurice was Coleridge's conviction that man is created for communion with God. Positively, Coleridge drew on the Unitarian emphasis on Christian social responsibility; negatively, he rejected its unsatisfying rationalism in favour of a religion which involved every aspect of man's being.

The Romantic element in Maurice is not derived exclusively from Coleridge and Wordsworth. The debt to Coleridge is demonstrable and Maurice's own championship of Wordsworth well known, but it must be remembered that before he was eighteen Maurice had read and been considerably influenced by Madame de Staël's L'Allemagne.³⁶ She owed to August Schlegel many of the ideas in her book, principally the concept of Romanticism as a way of experiencing reality. As an émigré during the Napoleonic wars, Madame de Staël became a propagandist for the Romantics and her stay in England in 1813 introduced a wide audience to the movement.

The links between Maurice and Romanticism (especially as mediated through Coleridge and Wordsworth) have been explored by Prickett, who sees Maurice as essentially a "poetic" theologian whose thought is undergirded by a feeling of unity-in-tension.³⁷ Ramsey examined the relationship between Coleridge and Maurice briefly, noted significant differences, and concluded that the distinguishing mark of Maurice was that he stood firmly within the Biblical tradition.³⁸ The connection has been developed most fully by Sanders, who found that "the chief thing that Maurice got from Coleridge was not a set of ideas completely worked out, but a mode of thinking, a way of using the mind".³⁹ Maurice explained what he meant by "method" in the third chapter of The Kingdom of Christ:

"System" indicates "that which is most opposed to life, freedom, variety; (method) that without which they cannot exist....the sense of a method....increases the impression that there is something most marvellous in the volume (ie Bible) they compose".

The systematizer is tormented by the refractory and hopeless materials that the Bible appears to him to be composed of, while he who approaches with a method is "haunted with the sense of some harmony, not in the words but in the history".⁴⁰

His appreciation of language as a living, organic whole appears in a lecture at Guy's Hospital in 1838 which echoes Coleridge's belief that "words are not THINGS, they are LIVING POWERS".⁴¹ Maurice says "there is as much a vital principle in a word as in a tree or a flower....words are endued with this principle of life".⁴² The merit of The Friend was "that it is an inquiry, that it shows us what we have to seek for, and that it puts us into a way of seeking" and he was helped by Aids to Reflection because it led him to believe that "the spirit of earnest and deep reflection is that which God would cultivate in us".⁴³ Maurice like his Unitarian contemporary Thom found Coleridge's Aids "a very precious

book".⁴⁴

Coleridge then, having shown Maurice that it was possible to develop an apprehension of truth by moving from level to level, also taught him to discriminate between

"that which is factitious and accidental, or belongs to our artificial habits of thought, and that which is fixed and eternal, which belongs to man as man, and which God will open the eyes of every humble man to perceive".⁴⁵

That was the quality which belonged to man as man and pressed him towards direct, immediate and naturally attainable communion with God. The validity of the religious truth thus attained was established philosophically for Maurice, as for Coleridge, in the distinction between reason and understanding.⁴⁶ Maurice declared that "the deepest principles of all are those which the Peasant is as capable of apprehending and entering into as the Schoolman".⁴⁷ (Very similarly, Thom spoke about the universal connection of God with the human heart: "God withholds not His spirit from the straitened and the toiling. The holy fountain of their nature is not closed. They, too, are under the power of sentiments which they cannot define".⁴⁸) Another passage which as clearly as any demonstrates Maurice's use of the philosophic distinction and his place as a Romantic theologian appears in a letter of 1842:

"The faculty which deals with the spiritual truths and mysteries is the universal faculty: that is the intellect, which meddles with propositions, that is wanting or only exists very feebly in the poor (so however that the exercise of the higher power will be a means of cultivating the lower); that if we do not touch that (the intellect) but endeavour to make our appeal to the senses as the great helpers to the reason and as supplying it with its materials, we are able at once to provide a richer and a simpler⁴⁹ lore for the poor man than is commonly the portion of the rich".

Further, Maurice teaches that the Sacrament of Baptism is a practical demonstration of this principle:

"It has led (parents) to see Christ and His redemption of humanity through all the mists of our teachings and our qualifications. It has explained the nature of His Kingdom to the hearts of the poorest. Christ has preached at the fonts, when we have been darkening counsel in pulpits".⁵⁰

Maurice's novel Eustace Conway which predates his theological writing (it was composed between 1828 and 1830), traces the hero's spiritual development from necessarianism to a Christian faith conceived in Romantic terms. The novel reflects Maurice's appreciation of German theology, which is presented through the character of Herr Kreutzner, representing Coleridge, and Coleridgean comprehensiveness is expressed in the following passage from Eustace's journal:

"My faith is unsectarian in its essence - it is reared upon very wide premises - it has its foundation in the centre of human experience - it is connected with the exposition of many obstruse laws - it sends out ramifications through every region of speculation and art".⁵¹

The novel reflects Coleridge's influence on Maurice's use of the Bible, which remained substantially unchanged throughout his life. The character Wilmot (a clergyman) first urges Conway to "doubt more than Hume - dare more than Shelley" and says that the Bible taught him that

"man is indeed dealt with as man, yea, much more nakedly as man there, than in all the writings of all the philosophers. And yet he is not treated of as an independent being, but more as an utterly dependent being than anywhere else".⁵²

The master Coleridge was pleased with the novel, which gratified Maurice.⁵³ After 1834 Maurice grew more and more discontent with Coleridge's vagueness.⁵⁴ Just as he could not be satisfied with the uncertainties of Unitarianism so neither could he remain content for long with Coleridge.

Cambridge Influences

At Cambridge Maurice met Julius Hare, classical lecturer at Trinity, a man who was to figure prominently in his life and who became the channel

of important influences.⁵⁵ Born in Italy and a traveller in Germany, Hare was one of England's foremost German scholars. He was an ardent Coleridgean and encouraged Maurice's early attraction to the Romantics. He was a staunch advocate of both Coleridge and Wordsworth. In the early 1820s he had attended the Thursday soirées of Coleridge's friends in Highgate. Hare met Wordsworth during his visits to the Master's Lodge at Trinity and they were lifelong friends and correspondents. He had a more open view than many of his Anglican contemporaries so far as the Unitarians were concerned. Crabb Robinson reports that he once heard Julius Hare "speak in terms of warm praise (of Charles Wicksteed) calling him a Christian whether or not a Unitarian".⁵⁶

We have noted that Maurice was already familiar (after reading Madame de Staël) with the thought of August Schlegel. Hare had published an essay on Schlegel by 1820 and encouraged his students to read Schlegel's dramatic criticism. They were also introduced to the work of the German historian Georg Barthold Niebuhr. Most importantly, Hare introduced Maurice to Plato and the English Platonic tradition.

In his introduction to Hare's Charges, Maurice expressed the debt he owed jointly to Hare and Plato: "To his lectures on Sophocles and Plato I can trace the most permanent effect on my character, and on all my modes of contemplating subjects, natural, human and divine".⁵⁷ Hare's method was to allow Plato to speak for himself. "The lecturer was not tempted for an instant to spoil us of the good which Plato could do us, by talking to us about him, instead of reading him with us".⁵⁸ But clearly Hare's Romanticism coloured the presentation, and his students were deeply concerned with the theme of unity in diversity. Maurice believed that

the final effort of Platonic philosophy was

"to inquire how far (earlier philosophers) had discovered the unity of which he was in search, and consider whether what they had looked for in nature, in society, in the mind of man, may not be implied indeed in each of these, yet had its foundations beneath them all".⁵⁹

Feelings were important: Plato sent men "to seek for wisdom, not in the strife parties, but in the quiet of their own hearts".⁶⁰

In his search for unity, Maurice found in Plato what he had not discovered among his mother's and sisters' Evangelical friends. Plato enabled him to see a way out of party opinions which "is not a compromise between them, but which is implied in both".⁶¹ His earliest theological tract, Subscription No Bondage, begins to tackle the problem of disunity:

"I think we should have said to ourselves, here is a person calling himself an Independent: he has got a hold of this important positive truth, that each congregation ought to be distinct, that he has torn the doctrine away from the body of truth; he has fancied that he could not maintain the distinctness of congregations, without maintaining the separateness of congregations; and thus comes into collision with the Romanist, who has set up the unity of the church against the distinctness of congregations; but I believe both; I believe that one is necessary to the other; I believe that there cannot be distinctness without unity, nor unity without distinctness".⁶²

Coming from a home torn by disunity and violent theological debates in which no quarter was given, Maurice was drawn to the Platonic concept of a divinity at work in the universe, taking different forms, yet all One. His devotion to Plato remained with him throughout his life: "I never have taken up any dialogue of Plato without getting more from it than from any book not in the Bible", he wrote to Hort in 1850.⁶³ He has therefore been seen as a Christian Platonist: sympathetically by W R Inge⁶⁴ and C C J Webb;⁶⁵ scathingly by J H Rigg in the nineteenth century;⁶⁶ coloured by Platonism with the Bible dominant, as A M Ramsey suggests;⁶⁷ and critically by T Christensen, who reverses Ramsey's

judgment and says that Maurice's basic structures were Platonist and not Biblical, and not in the deepest sense Christian.⁶⁸

Maurice's friends often linked his name with Plato when they tried to describe him. Hare said that Maurice's mind was the greatest given to the world since Plato.⁶⁹ Hutton said he "had more of Plato's eye for discerning the evidence of a superhuman origin of truth, and of the complete incapacity of our minds to originate the highest truths which it is given us to perceive, than any Englishman of our century, Coleridge himself - to whom he owed so much - not excepted".⁷⁰ Martineau believed that Hare and Maurice were the leading teachers of their generation in passing on the Platonic gospel of Coleridge.⁷¹ The discerning Scot, John Tulloch, judged that Maurice's theology rested in Platonic or neo-Platonic forms of thought, but no more than that of Clement of Alexandria or Origen. Maurice was no less Christian because he spoke a language other than that of a wholly different school. Himself deeply versed in the Platonic tradition of the seventeenth century, Tulloch saw Maurice and his group of friends as moved by the same spirit as the Cambridge Platonists, advancing theological enquiry in a spirit of openness to intellectual movement on all sides.⁷² Flesseman-Van Leer put forward a convincing case for considering Maurice as a Christian who often uses Platonic terminology, rather than a Platonist disguised as a Christian,⁷³ arguing that the content of Maurice's theology is entirely drawn from his understanding of the word made flesh:

"Jesus Christ proved Himself in human flesh to be that Word of God in whom was life, and whose life was the light⁷⁴ of men, who had been in the world, and by whom the world was made".

During 1824 Maurice's personal tutor was Frederick Field, an outstanding Patristic scholar responsible for notable work on Origen and

Chrysostom.⁷⁵ Already drawn to Plato, Maurice was led by Field to an appreciation of the Greek Fathers, and Field's exact scholarship was popularised by Maurice in pulpit, lecture room and letters. The broad direction of Maurice's thought as influenced by the Greek school can be briefly indicated.

In holding to the great theme of the relationship of God and man Maurice was at one with the Greek Fathers. Like them he had a sense of being in the presence of the Eternal Creator. The idea of an eternal and indestructible relationship is a leading feature in Clement of Alexandria; Gregory of Nyssa speaks of a living relationship with God, so that human nature can be truly understood only in terms of a divine destiny. This is echoed by Maurice who writes: "Man cannot be satisfied with anything short of what is Perfect. He must have perpetual 'unrest' till he finds what is Perfect".⁷⁶ Maurice followed the Fathers in making God, rather than man and sin, the starting point of theology, and his concept of a constitutional relationship between Christ and humanity may be traced in various forms in Irenaeus, Origen, Clement, Athanasius and Gregory of Nazianzen.⁷⁷ However, Maurice's debt to the Greek Fathers must not be over-emphasised. Most of the topics that have exercised the minds of theologians over the past fifteen hundred years were touched upon by the Greek Fathers, and so we must not be surprised to find Maurice reflecting some of their conclusions. But it is important to re-affirm that it is the spirit of Greek theology that pervades Maurice's thinking and had its beginnings in his intercourse with Field at Trinity when he was an undergraduate.

One area deserves special notice, since it links Maurice and his

Unitarian background. Maurice reflected the Alexandrian interest, taken up by the Cambridge Platonists,⁷⁸ in theosis, divinisation by grace, otherwise described as the deification of man.⁷⁹ What in fact happened at Cambridge was that Maurice's experience of the Greek Fathers had reinforced a latent Unitarian theme, that is, man shares in the life of God his Father.

Maurice's deep commitment to the idea that man is only fully human when he is in communion with God, was strongly maintained too by the Unitarians of the second quarter of the century. Significantly, Maurice himself links this understanding of man's nature with contemporary Unitarianism. In a letter to D J Vaughan about the relationship of the Trinity to mankind, Maurice says that this relationship is a "living principle" which "is in the nature of man because its prototype is in the nature of God". Then he refers to the possibility of modern Evangelicals being outdistanced by Unitarians, who were rising "through their old confession of a Father and their new apprehension of a Spirit working in them" to a profound belief in the Divine Unity.⁸⁰ Scripture, said the Unitarians, makes man "aware of his filial relations to God.... and of his immortal destiny".⁸¹ Martineau spoke of God and man sharing a common nature⁸² and said he is "a son of divine lineage".⁸³ Thus the Greek Fathers, the Cambridge Platonists, the Unitarians and Maurice have a similar view of man, that he is of God's race and made to resemble his creator.

Thomas Erskine

If Plato and the Greek Fathers taught him that God was the foundation of unity-in-diversity, then it was a Scots layman who led him to see that Christ was the Head and Centre of humanity. Indirectly in childhood, then by reading, and finally by a personal friendship, Maurice owed much to Thomas Erskine of Linlathen (1788-1870). Maurice had a deep personal affection for Erskine: "...he is so gentle and truthful and loving, the best man I think I ever knew".⁸⁴ Erskine had a high opinion of Maurice: "As Erasmus described the difference between himself and Luther, when some flattering friend was giving him the first place, by saying, I can write, but Luther can burn, Maurice can do both".⁸⁵ Erskine was convinced that Christ was the Head of the whole human race. "Christ the Head was latent in humanity as the Head, but the Head did not come out and show itself to the senses till the personal Christ appeared in the flesh".⁸⁶ Maurice read Erskine's book The Brazen Serpent in 1831 and told his sister Priscilla that it had been "unspeakably comfortable" to him.⁸⁷ In 1850 Maurice told Erskine how much he owed to his books which "seemed to me to mark a crisis in the theological movements at this time".⁸⁸ Like Schleiermacher and Coleridge (whom Erskine did not know) Erskine made his own response to the awakening Romantic movement and became the apostle of Christian consciousness in Scotland. His position is well expressed in the following words: "All that a man learns from the Bible without its awakening within him a living consciousness of its truth, might as well not be learned".⁸⁹ Like Coleridge, Erskine had spiritual roots in the writings of the Cambridge Platonists. His influence on the development of British theology in the nineteenth century has only recently been recognised and is still to be thoroughly explored.⁹⁰

Challenging the strict Calvinism of his day, in his book Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion (1820) he explained how his reason and conscience were satisfied beyond doubt through a patient study of the scriptures. These 'aids to reflection' were written five years before the publication of Coleridge's book. Erskine's emphasis on 'interior religion', the inner witness of the heart (in sharp contrast with narrow, dogmatic Calvinism) made a direct appeal to Maurice, who believed he could not be true and honest to himself without "this real personal knowledge" of God.⁹¹ Erskine went further than Coleridge in basing faith on the subjective emotions, but when Maurice was in his mid-twenties Erskine helped him to find the "heart truth" and to "satisfy wants which we feel".⁹² Erskine set out in The Brazen Serpent a mystic theory of Christ's divine Headship, according to which he suffers not as a substitute for the elect, but as Head and representative of the whole race, seen as one body, "one colossal man of which Christ continues the Head during the whole accepted time and day of salvation".⁹³ This concept of Christ as the Head of the whole human race is a dominating theme in the work of Maurice.

Maurice was naturally drawn to a thinker who shared with Unitarians a high estimation of the value of humanity. Further, Erskine's conviction that this present world is a school in which men are educated at the hand of a loving Father⁹⁴ coincided exactly with Maurice's Unitarian upbringing. Thirdly, Erskine believed that "there is in Jesus Christ, a general election for the whole race".⁹⁵ This universalist belief was entirely in keeping with the Unitarian view. It is not surprising to find that Erskine had a deep respect for J J Tayler: "I feel that he

has a brother's heart, and that I can sympathise much with him in the idea he gives of the meaning and purpose of human life".⁹⁶

Three other Scots, all members of the Erskine circle, played a part in the development of Maurice's thought - Edward Irving (1792-1834),⁹⁷ John McLeod Campbell (1800-1872)⁹⁸ and Alexander John Scott (1805-1866).⁹⁹ At the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the Spring of 1831, Irving's books were condemned; Campbell was deposed and Scott (a layman) was deprived of his preacher's licence. Maurice never met Irving, but was indebted to him for the conviction that belief in Christ must "begin from God",¹⁰⁰ and for a clearer understanding of Christ's humanity.¹⁰¹ Maurice may well have been drawn to Irving for a theology of the incarnation which did justice to Unitarian claims, which Maurice continued to respect, concerning the true humanity of Jesus.¹⁰² He was particularly helped by Campbell's understanding of the atonement as the work of a God of love,¹⁰³ and he maintained a lifelong friendship with Scott, who had been Irving's assistant in London. He visited Maurice at Guy's Hospital, Maurice attended his lectures, and they corresponded long after Scott became Principal of Owen's College, Manchester.¹⁰⁴ Scott numbered many Unitarians among his friends and with the Unitarian minister William Gaskell, was a co-founder of the Working Men's College in Manchester.

Robert Hall

At the age of 10, F D Maurice attended a meeting in Bristol of the British and Foreign School Society, where one of the speakers was his father's friend, the Baptist preacher Robert Hall (1764-1831). Regrettably, Maurice could not hear Hall's speech, though "good judges

say it was one of the best they ever heard".¹⁰⁵ Hall was already well known to the Maurice family and it was he who on hearing that Michael Maurice used the Trinitarian formula in baptism, remarked to him "Why sir, as I understand you, you must consider that you baptise in the name of an abstraction, a man and a metaphor!"¹⁰⁶

Robert Hall's part in shaping the mind of the young Maurice has never been investigated, despite the fact that Maurice's biographer says that from Hall his father "learned very much in his younger days, of whom he always spoke with the greatest reverence".¹⁰⁷ In his first month at Cambridge Maurice went "with great pleasure" to hear Hall preach, and he had often heard him before.¹⁰⁸ From Oxford, in 1831, he wrote to tell his sister Priscilla that he would like to join her in Bristol "especially that I might hear Mr Hall".¹⁰⁹ As late as 1862, Maurice used a saying of Hall's in a letter dealing with the existence of the devil.¹¹⁰

In early life Hall had been attracted to Socinianism, but later "his system of theological tenets was strictly orthodox, on the model of what has come to be denominated Moderate Calvinism".¹¹¹ The major theological debate in which he was involved concerned 'terms of communion' in which he took a catholic, inclusive view, refusing to "demand more, as a term of communion, than that (which) the church deems essential to salvation".¹¹² To do otherwise invested "every little Baptist teacher with the prerogative of repelling from his communion a Lowe, a Leighton, or a Brainerd, whom the Lord of Glory will welcome to His presence".¹¹³ Such a view would have held great attraction for Maurice, whose divided family background forced him to look for an inclusive theology. Nor

would Maurice have argued with Hall's opinion that "the doctrine of the eternal duration of future misery....is not an essential article of faith".¹¹⁴

Like Maurice, Robert Hall greatly admired Plato. His biographer says he referred to him in terms of "fervid eulogy" and "not Cudworth himself could appreciate him more highly". Neglect of Plato's writings was "irrefragable proof of a shallow age".¹¹⁵ Similarly, Hall had a high regard for the Platonist Archbishop Robert Leighton (whom Coleridge found an inspiration for the Aids to Reflection).¹¹⁶

Finally, Hall's preaching appealed to Maurice in his search for the "heart truth" which he had been unable to find at home. There is a reflection of the current Romantic spirit in Hall's view that Socinianism made "no provision for that appetite for the immense and magnificent, which the contemplation of nature inspires and gratifies, and which even reason itself prompts us to anticipate in a revelation from the Eternal Mind".¹¹⁷ This was exactly the criticism which Martineau and his colleagues later levelled at Priestley and Unitarianism, and to which Maurice himself warmed in his search for a faith that would meet his emotional needs. "Unitarianism", said Hall, "appears to have little or no connection with the religion of the heart". Its disciples were cut off "from the objects most adapted to touch the springs of religious sensibility".¹¹⁸

Hall was clearly an important figure during Maurice's transitional phase, both in confirming his reservations about the weakness of contemporary Unitarianism, and in drawing him towards a more Catholic and (in the

Coleridgean sense) reasonable Christianity. Hall's popular reputation and his political and social involvement would also have had a great attraction for the radical young Maurice. Hall also had a magnetic effect on James Martineau who attended Hall's Bristol services as often as he could, and felt "the contagious elevation of a powerful mind".¹¹⁹

Oxford and after

Maurice resided at Oxford intermittently between 1829 and 1832, a period of agitation for reform in all departments of the nation. The university's intellectual life was characterised by expressions of liberalism which in some measure supported the popular reform movement while on the other hand there was an awakening of a strong reaction against liberalism.

Unitarians throughout the country had taken a leading part in the struggle to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts in 1829. The following year the Catholic Emancipation Bill, which had received the unstinting support of Unitarians, was passed by Parliament, exciting particular notice in Oxford since Peel (Wellington's Home Secretary), who represented the university, had been converted to support after long opposition. The fall of Charles X as a result of the 1830 French Revolution created great excitement throughout the country and renewed interest in parliamentary reform. Tories and Whigs alike saw that it could not be postponed indefinitely, and the pressure was intensified by agricultural riots in the autumn of 1830. A third Reform Bill was finally passed in ~~December 1831~~^{June 1832} and the reformed Parliament turned its attention to changes in many other spheres - police, prisons, the poor law, and not least, the church.

The Ecclesiastical Courts Commission of 1830 was followed by the Ecclesiastical Revenues Commission two years later. Its reports supplied much of the material for the far-reaching reforms of the Ecclesiastical Commission 1835-6. The needs of Ireland gave rise to proposals for the reform of the Anglican Church in that country embodied in the Irish

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Bishoprics' Bill, which occasioned Keble's Assize sermon on National Apostasy in July 1833.

The spirit of liberalism in theology drew its inspiration in Oxford chiefly from past and present members of Oriel College and other intellectuals loosely associated with them. The liberal foundations of the 'Noetics' of Oriel were laid by two provosts, Edward Coplestone (1776-1849) and his successor, Edward Hawkins (1789-1882), who were both of a critical and independent frame of mind. But the spirit of scientific investigation into matters religious plumbed new depths in the work of the eminent Fellows of Oriel, Richard Whately (1787-1863), Renn Dickson Hampden (1793-1868), and Thomas Arnold (1795-1842). Another figure who contributed to the speculative atmosphere of Oxford in Maurice's day was Joseph Blanco White (1775-1841), a former Roman Catholic priest, who passed through Anglicanism to Unitarianism.¹²⁰ Thomas Arnold numbered amongst his friends John Keble (1792-1866) whose career overlapped the old and the new, anti-liberal Oriel tradition. Fears were aroused as the reforms seen as necessary in purely secular fields gradually grew closer to the Church of England. The atmosphere of Oriel moved away from a spirit of free enquiry to powerful reaction against it.

Keble became a Fellow of Oriel in 1811 and stayed until 1823. For the remainder of the decade he was assisting his father in a Cotswold parish but continued to meet and influence his younger Oxford friends John Henry Newman (1801-1890) and Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882). Pusey's Fellowship at Oriel began the year Keble left and from 1828 he was Regius Professor of Hebrew. Newman became a Fellow of Oriel in 1822 and vicar

of St Mary's in 1828, where Maurice often heard him preach.¹²¹ The trio of Keble, Newman and Pusey led the orthodox response to "an increasing attack upon the Church of England in every direction" to use the words of the Anglo-Catholic critic William Palmer.¹²² They developed (to quote Tulloch) "a new Toryism...as well as a new Sacerdotalism".¹²³ Maurice considered that the practical conclusion of the work of the "dons of the Oxford band", as he called them, was narrow and exclusive.¹²⁴

How great was the need for revival at the time Maurice went up to Oxford is indicated in the simple observation of Isaac Williams, "things at Oxford at that time were very dead".¹²⁵ Gladstone, who entered Christ Church in 1828, described the state of religion in the university as "the most painful spectacle it ever fell to my lot to behold".¹²⁶ There is no evidence to suggest that Maurice's religious quest was greatly furthered by his period at Oxford; it had already reached its crucial turning point when he decided to leave London. Nevertheless, his connection with Oxford threw him into the company of some of the finest minds of his day - Gladstone among them - at a time of great change in the life of the country and the church. His earliest theological work, Subscription No Bondage (1835) arose directly out of proposals to reform the university, and the work which brought his name before a wide public, The Kingdom of Christ (first edition 1838) was an inevitable product of this period of upheaval as Maurice gave a strongly affirmative answer to the questions that were being asked about the existence of a divine society and the nature of its constitution.

Maurice was not happy at Oxford and he spent a good deal of his second undergraduate episode away from university. Life at Cambridge had been

very different. There, leadership of the Apostles, friendship with Sterling and Hare's admiration had nurtured his intellectual growth. Then financial problems assailed his family, religious differences intensified, he was uncertain about his future, and he experienced one of his periodic bouts of depression. He left journalism behind him in London to go to Oxford to seek "solidity and reverence"¹²⁷ for what is established, just when the theological/ecclesiastical scene was in ferment.

Unquestionably, the atmosphere at Cambridge had been congenial for a youth previously educated at home by the highly intelligent and free thinking Michael Maurice, who could trace his own Unitarian roots back via the Cambridge-educated Lindsey and Blackburne, to Whiston, Newton and Locke, and the seventeenth-century Platonists. More recently, the university had housed the Unitarian William Frend (an associate of Michael Maurice) and his protégé Coleridge, whose rooms became a centre for Unitarian sympathisers after Frend had been excluded from Cambridge.¹²⁸ The unifying factor, which became F D Maurice's constant theme, was a Platonic concern with the eternal principles that lay behind the events of history and the institutions that time produced. This helps us understand why Maurice so much appreciated Robert Hall. Cambridge introduced Maurice to the Greek Fathers whose views reinforced ideas not foreign to Unitarianism. In terms of Christian theology, Michael Maurice believed the atonement of the New Testament to be God's willing "all men (to) come to the knowledge of the Truth and enjoy eternal life",¹²⁹ while his son's teaching on the atonement was rooted in the concept of an eternal relationship with God which man's sin could not destroy. He believed in the absolute redemption "even as regards

those who have not been rescued from a life of sin".¹³⁰ Thus, Christ as the sign of God's eternal benevolence is a central feature in Maurice's theology, rather than the work of the historical figure of Jesus. Because time is never allowed to dominate eternity, and because Maurice could never finally accept that new things happen, it is the pre-existent Christ rather than the historical Jesus who becomes the object of faith. It is significant that in 160 crucial pages of his Doctrine of Sacrifice Maurice employs the word Christ constantly to identify the Saviour, but Jesus and Our Lord hardly at all. Similarly, in his chapter on the atonement in The Theological Essays only the word Christ is employed. In contrast, McLeod Campbell in a comparable passage of his Nature of the Atonement characteristically refers to the Saviour as Our Lord on 92 occasions and as Jesus on six occasions. Again, in both the Maurice works cited, the events of Holy Week are incidental to the Christian principle being enunciated, whereas precise details of "the work of Jesus" are vital to Campbell's argument. Maurice's absorption with eternal principles led inevitably to a neglect of the historic event. So long as Maurice began with the quintessential Unitarian premise, the eternal benevolence of God, then the cross would always appear as a manifestation of eternal facts, rather than as an event which changes the course of human history.

Cambridge thus laid down for Maurice vital principles not inimical to the type of Unitarianism embraced by his father,¹³¹ but Romantic influences were also at work. A strong attachment to his dying sister Emma who had espoused Evangelicalism, and disenchantment with his life in London, brought Maurice to a personal crisis. He was deeply introspective, critical of his own behaviour, but gradually receiving "glimpses...of new

lights, new truths". His had been an easy life up to the age of 26, he told his mother, "and yet I feel as if it had been nothing but constant toiling and fever. I never dreamed till this last fortnight of half the reason I had for shame and remorse at looking back". But the experience was leading to a deeper understanding of his relationship with God:

"We must learn to dwell and delight in the thought that others are infinitely better and kinder than we are, and then this delightful feeling of affection comes and breeds in the heart. Does this not apply too, my dearest mother, to our heavenly relation? I have been myself, I think, learning one truth in the other; and I never should have understood so much even as I do of the necessity of taking our heavenly Father's love to us for granted, in order to be the ground and parent of love to Him in us, if I had not by a series of painful, almost agonising, discoveries been led to feel that I must acquiesce in the delightful feeling of others loving me, in order to enjoy and realise the belief that I love them. I have seemed to see myself in a double mirror, one human, one divine. I could not have seen my image in one except I had seen it also in the other".¹³²

This concentration on his own feelings during a psychological crisis in his life (aided by the insights he was absorbing from Coleridge and Wordsworth) produced a major shift in his religious development, away from formality (of whatever kind) towards a faith springing from the human heart, so that from now on he insisted on the spiritual quality of feeling. His feelings were raised to the rank of reason, understood in the way that Coleridge used the word. In this he was not alone, and it is significant that against the same Romantic background the younger Unitarians such as Martineau, Thom, Tayler and Wicksteed were raising their own emotional protest against the dry, formal Unitarianism of the Priestley-Belsham variety, and found the seat of authority in their hearts, and in their "highest desires and best affections".¹³³ Martineau sought to substitute among his congregation "the Religion of Consciousness for the religion of customs" at just the same time as Maurice was prompting his readers "to believe that the heart and spirit

of men are intended to converse with holy and invisible things".¹³⁴

The younger Unitarians were concerned to see their congregations change from "moral, polemical or dissenting societies" into "real worshipping assemblies".¹³⁵ Within his own Baptist denomination, Robert Hall was raising his own protest against Unitarianism's failure to touch "the springs of religious sensibility".¹³⁶ The Unitarian transcendentalists shared with Maurice a high regard for tradition, in their case, the old Presbyterianism, and a high doctrine of the church. Like Maurice, they abhorred sectarian strife, and looked back to their common ancestors, the Cambridge Platonists, for an acceptable expression of tradition, scripture and reason.¹³⁷ We are not surprised to discover that these Unitarians found in Thomas Arnold, in whose reformed church they would have been given a home, a visionary "whose memory we love with devotion almost unreserved", as Martineau wrote in the Prospective Review in 1845.¹³⁸

The F D Maurice who in 1834 gave his strangely powerful allegiance to the Church of England was a deeply introspective man, whose religion was real only when it found a response in the depths of his own personality and experience. His father belonged to the Priestleyan era of Unitarianism, and Maurice's rejection of that "mechanical formalism" (as Carlyle called it) was not unlike the emotional rejection made by his contemporaries who developed the transcendental movement in Unitarianism. But the Church of England he was soon to describe in The Kingdom of Christ bore little resemblance to contemporary Anglicanism, and even worse for Maurice as a man, he failed to see that his enquiring spirit would find no lasting peace in a church hedged about with articles and

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creeds.¹³⁹ A contemporary leader in The Inquirer referred to the "dead-weight of articles and liturgy" which obscured the spirit of faith which still glowed at the heart of England.¹⁴⁰ A Unitarian critic felt that Maurice would have escaped much mental anxiety had he not been a member of the Church of England.¹⁴¹ But the 1830's were years in which men were again taking the idea of the church seriously and Maurice was a child of his time. The Kingdom of Christ was published only four years after Keble's Assize Sermon; it is roughly contemporary with the Scots anti-Erastian movement resulting in the creation of the Free Church of Scotland; in Denmark Grundtvig had re-discovered the church. Coleridge had told all who would listen that "a Christianity without a Church exercising spiritual authority is vanity and delusion".¹⁴² Maurice reflected the current interest in historical continuity and the tendency to idealise the church as an organ of authority. But the Romantic movement had other and more disruptive fruits than merely the recovery of historic sentiment. It revolted against that confidence in reason which characterised the eighteenth century and highlighted the value of feelings and sentiments. The apostle of spiritual consciousness was Schleiermacher, and Maurice, like his friend Thomas Erskine, was as much a child of Romanticism as Schleiermacher. If Schleiermacher could say "the feelings, the feelings alone, provide the elements of religion",¹⁴³ Maurice insisted on an inner faculty, "a light within you, close to you"¹⁴⁴ which he personalized as the presence of Christ within humanity. But for Maurice, no less than for Schleiermacher, this emphasis on feeling inevitably led to undogmatic religion, no matter how much he attempted to give it Anglican dress.

Maurice's failure to recognize this had serious results. His Cambridge

friend John Sterling described him as the humblest man with the haughtiest intellect he had ever known. But Maurice did not see himself that way. Maurice really believed that while other people merely put forward opinions he was a channel for divine communication. His Theological Essays, the product of his mature years, express his unique feelings about traditional Christian doctrines. As such they were unacceptable to the church of which he was an authorised minister but more warmly received by Unitarians. A Unitarian reviewer found that Maurice produced material that was as much available to his opponents as to his supporters, and "the ground which he makes so impregnable seems quite short of that which he had undertaken to defend".¹⁴⁵ The first of Maurice's two most influential works, The Kingdom of Christ, was written within three years of his ordination. It took note of the positive aspects of Unitarianism and marked him as a rising man in the Church of England. It brought him into Anglicanism from the outlands of Dissent and earned him his chair at King's College. But the Theological Essays brought down on him the wrath of the establishment and dispatched him to the fringes of Anglicanism. It had proved impossible to combine his permanent commitment to the ideals of Unitarianism with allegiance to the doctrines of mid-nineteenth century orthodoxy. His Unitarian friends, as the next chapter of this thesis will suggest, were moved by his earnestness but puzzled by his membership of a church which seemed to contradict so much of the good news according to Maurice.

NOTES

1. GJ, p.121.
2. F D Maurice, The Doctrine of Sacrifice (London, 1879), p.194 (hereafter DS).
3. M Peckham, British Romantic Poets (London, 1968). Cf. "Might not Christ be the world as revealed to human knowledge - a kind of common sensorium, the total Idea that modifies all thoughts?" (S T Coleridge, quoted in O Barfield, What Coleridge Thought, Oxford, 1972, p.149).
4. A K Tuell, John Sterling: A representative Victorian (New York, 1941), p.237.
5. N M Distad, Guessing at Truth: the life of Julius Charles Hare, 1795-1855 (Shepherdstown, USA, 1979), p.56.
6. Tayler's Letters, Vol.1, p.235. Tayler actually conducted services in German at his Manchester church, for the benefit of the many German merchants and their families who attended.
7. J Rogerson, Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany (London, 1984), p.250.
8. Life, Vol.1, p.454. He travelled in Germany in 1850 and met Dorner (Life, Vol.2, p.53). But he maintained, with affected modesty, that he was "ignorant of German life and literature" (Life, Vol.2, p.252). Nevertheless, he read German periodicals (Life, Vol.1, p.450) and attempted translations into English (Life, Vol.1, p.444).
9. J H Muirhead, The Platonic Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Philosophy (London, 1931), p.149.
10. As late as 1835, Thomas Arnold, in a letter to Julius Hare, could refer to "some beginnings of Biblical Criticism, which, as far as relates to the Old Testament, is in England almost non-existent" (A P Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, London, 1881, Vol.1, p.344).
11. See MMP, Vol.2, pp.619ff.
12. See I Ellis, 'Schleiermacher in Britain', in Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol.33, 1980, pp.417-452.
13. B Smith, op.cit., p.91.
14. Prospective Review, 1846, Vol.2, p.379. Cf. The Inquirer, 31 October 1846: "There is amongst us by no means an entire sympathy with the direction of thought in Germany, but we feel all the importance of the changes that are going on; we watch them with interest, and endeavour to estimate them fairly".
15. Life, Vol.1, p.454.
16. To be fair, "Evangelicals of the Christian Observer school believed in the fall of man and the centrality of the cross, but they also believed that there was a place for both natural religion and human reason" (M M Hennell, Sons of the Prophets: Evangelical Leaders of the Victorian Church, London, 1979, p.8).
17. National Review, October 1856.
18. Quoted in D Sultana, ed. New Approaches to Coleridge: Biographical and Critical Essays (London, 1981), p.147. One notes the depth of feeling, characteristic of the coming Romantic movement, which are contained in the Olney hymns: See R A Leaver, 'Olney Hymns 1779' in Churchman, Vol.93, 1979, and Vol.94, 1980. Maurice had a high regard for Cowper - see EJ, pp.123 and 131, and The Friendship of Books, London, 1893, p.21-22 (hereafter, FB). See also G F Nuttall, Continental Pietism and the Evangelical Movement in Britain (Leiden, 1978).
19. KC, Vol.1, p.173.
20. Ibid., p.177. This is the distinctive trait of the Romantic poets, who "are alert to the complexity of the experiencing self" (P M Ball, The

- Central Self: A study in Romantic and Victorian Imagination, London, 1968, p.64).
21. Lincoln's Inn Sermons, Vol.5, p.118. (hereafter LIS).
 22. Life, Vol.1, p.139.
 23. Life, Vol.2, p.21.
 24. KC, Vol.1, p.171.
 25. Chapter heading in S Sykes, The Identity of Christianity, London, 1984.
 26. R Aspland, op.cit., p.177.
 27. Prospective Review, Vol.2, p.541.
 28. KC, Vol.1, p.180.
 29. W Wordsworth, Tintern Abbey, line 102.
 30. Surely a recovery of the insights of the Cambridge Platonists, e.g., "Religion...teaches the soul to look at those Perfections which it finds here below...as they are so many Rays issuing forth from that First and Essential Perfection, in which they all meet and embrace one another in the most close friendship...should we separate all these Particularities from God, all affection spent upon them would be unchast, and their embraces adulterous" (John Smith, quoted in Patrides, op.cit., p.185).
 31. This theme is fully explored in S Prickett, Romanticism and Religion: The Tradition of Coleridge and Wordsworth in the Victorian Church, Cambridge, 1976. The debt the next generation owed to Coleridge and Wordsworth was generously acknowledged by Julius Hare: "We whose entrance into intellectual life took place in the second and third decades of this century, enjoyed a singular felicity in this respect, in that the stimulators and trainers of our thoughts were Wordsworth and Coleridge; in whom practical judgment and moral dignity and a sacred love of truth are so nobly wedded to the highest intellectual power" (quoted in C R Sanders, Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, Durham, North Carolina, 1942, p.133). Cf. "Coleridge and Wordsworth were our principal divinities and Hare and Thirlwall were regarded as their prophets" (Charles Merivale, Autobiography and Letters, Oxford, 1898, p.97).
 32. See H W Stephenson, 'Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Unitarianism' in TUHS, Vol.5, October 1932, pp.165-184.
 33. From Coleridge's 1794 poem "Religious Musings".
 34. Coleridge to John Thelwall, 16 October 1797, quoted in Stephenson, op. cit., p.177.
 35. Coleridge to George Fricker, 4 October 1806: "I was for many years a Socinian; and at times almost a Naturalist, but sorrow, and ill health, and disappointment in the only deep wish I had ever cherished, forced me to look into myself; I read the New Testament again, and I became fully convinced, that Socinianism was not only not the doctrine of the New Testament, but that it scarcely deserved the name of a religion in any sense" (Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Vol.2, p.1189, Oxford 1956-59, quoted in J R Barth, Coleridge and Christian Doctrine, Cambridge, Mass. 1969, p.10); see also J D Boulger, Coleridge as Religious Thinker, New Haven, 1961, and D Pym, The Religious Thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Gerrards Cross, 1978. Pym believes (p.16) that Unitarianism conferred on Coleridge at least one great blessing - a powerful concept of the personality of God, contrasted with a view of the Almighty as solely the great designer.
 36. Life, Vol.1, p.176; cf. MMP, Vol.2, p.662.
 37. Prickett, op.cit., pp.120-151.
 38. A M Ramsey, op.cit., pp.20-21.

39. Sanders, op.cit., p.185.
40. KC, Vol.1, pp.272-3. Cf. "I have not aspired to give an account of systems and schools..but to trace the progress of the thoughts that have contributed to form these schools and systems...this I take to be an altogether different task". (MMP, Vol.2, p.vii).
41. From Aids to Reflection, p.xvii (quoted in Prickett, op.cit., p.129).
42. FB, p.41.
43. KC, Vol.1, p.xiv; Life, Vol.1, p.226
44. J H Thom, A Spiritual Faith (London, 1895), p.64.
45. KC, Vol.1, p.xviii.
46. Coleridge "gives meanings of his own to 'Reason' and 'Understanding' which are not those of ordinary parlance: Reason is 'the organ of the supersensuous'; Understanding is the faculty by which we generalize and arrange the phenomena of perception. Reason is 'the knowledge of the laws of the whole considered as one'; Understanding is 'the science of phenomena'. Reason seeks ultimate ends; Understanding studies means. Reason is 'the source and substance of truths above sense'; Understanding is the faculty which judges 'according to sense'. Reason is the eye of the spirit, the faculty whereby spiritual reality is spiritually discerned; Understanding is the mind of the flesh" (Basil Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, London, 1964, p.37), but as the Jesuit scholar Appleyard (following J H Muirhead) has noted, "the distinction is one of the most venerable in Western thought. Plato gave different functions to νοῦς and λογιστικόν, Thomas Aquinas to intellectus and ratio, and Coleridge could have found the contrast between the intuitive and discursive faculties, whatever names are given to them, in Milton, Bacon, and the Cambridge Platonists" (J A Appleyard Coleridge's Philosophy of Literature: The Development of a Concept of Poetry 1791-1819, Cambridge, Mass, 1965, p.121).
47. KC, loc.cit; cf. "The deepest knowledge is intended for all classes equally" (EJ, p.26).
48. V D Davies, op.cit., p.178. Cf. "Those grand fundamental principles respecting our relations to God and man, which find their eternal witness and their unanswerable warrant in the convictions of every awakened soul" (Taylor's Letters, Vol.1, p.331).
49. Life, Vol.1, p.334. Cf. KC, Vol.1, p.195. Martineau, towards the end of the 1830s, moved to a not dissimilar position. A modern authority on Martineau, Ralph Waller, writes: "He came to believe that there were some things that could be determined empirically and through reason, and that there were other things that could only be discerned spiritually, and he believed that the divinity and character of Christ was one such example" ('James Martineau Revisited' in Faith and Freedom, Vol.38, Summer, 1985, p.65).
50. F D Maurice, The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven, London, 1893, pp.282-3 (hereafter, KH). Cf. "He can communicate to you that which our lips cannot tell" (PB, p.276).
51. EC, Vol.3, p.27.
52. Ibid., pp.111-112
53. Life, Vol.1, p.165.
54. Life, Vol.1, pp.203 and 251.
55. Hare was Rector of Hurstmonceaux from 1832 and Archdeacon of Lewes from 1840. He married Maurice's sister Esther in 1844, and Hare's half-sister Georgina became Maurice's second wife in 1849.
56. P H Wicksteed (editor), Memorials of the Rev. Charles Wicksteed, B.A. (London, 1886), p.4.

57. Life, Vol.1, p.55.
58. Ibid., p.54.
59. MMP, Vol.1, p.154.
60. Life, Vol.1, p.81; cf. ibid. p.203.
61. Ibid., p.56.
62. Subscription no Bondage, or the Practical Advantages afforded by the Thirty-nine Articles as Guides in all the Branches of Academical Education, by Rusticus (London, 1835), p.112.
63. Life, Vol.2, p.37.
64. W R Inge, op.cit., p.96.
65. C C J Webb, A Century of Anglican Theology, (Oxford, 1923), p.9.
66. J H Rigg, Modern Anglican Theology, (London, 1857).
67. A M Ramsey, op.cit., p.23.
68. T Christensen, The Divine Order: A study in F D Maurice's Theology, (Leiden, 1973), pp.53, 64, 296-297.
69. Quoted in R H Hutton, Essays on some of the Modern Guides to English Thought in Matters of Faith, London, 1888, p.330.
70. Ibid.
71. National Review, October 1856.
72. J Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century (1885), reprinted 1971, Leicester, pp.278-282.
cf. "Maurice was no more, though surely no less, of a Platonist than the Fathers or than St Paul and St John" (A R Vidler, op.cit., p.32).
73. E Flesseman-Van Leer, Grace Abounding: A Comparison of Frederick Denison Maurice and Karl Barth, (London, 1968), p.2.
74. GJ, p.25.
75. Field (1801-1885) became a Fellow of Trinity in 1824. His edition of Origen's Hexapla was one of the most important contributions to patristic studies during the century.
76. EJ, p.339.
77. For a summary of these points, see R S Franks, The Work of Christ: A historical study of Christian Doctrine (London, 1962), pp.22-74.
78. "The Gospel is nothing else, but God descending into the world in Our Form, and conversing with us in our likeness; that he might allure, and draw us up to God, and make us partakers of his Divine Form". (Ralph Cudworth, quoted in Patrides, op.cit., p.101). cf. The affirmation of Athanasius that "the word of God...was made man, that we might be made gods", which was a favourite saying among the Christian Platonists.
79. Recent literature on the deification theme includes A M Allchin, Participation in God: A forgotten strand in Anglican Tradition (London, 1988), and the chapter by Andrew Louth, 'Manhood into God: the Oxford movement, the fathers and the deification of man' in Essays Catholic and Radical, Ed. K Leech and R D Williams (London, 1983).
80. Life, Vol.2, p.351.
81. Henry Acton, A Rational and Spiritual Religion the one thing needful (London, 1835), quoted in TUHS, Vol.13, 1966, p.143.
82. J Martineau, Hours of Thought on Sacred Things (Volume 1, London, 1876, Volume 2, London 1879), Vol.2, p.21. (Hereafter, Hours).
83. Op.cit., Vol.1, p.192.
84. Life, Vol.1, p.533.
85. H F Henderson, Erskine of Linlathen: Selections and Biography (Edinburgh, 1899), pp.23-24.
86. W Hanna, Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen (Edinburgh, 1878), p.519.

87. Life, Vol.1, p.121.
88. Life, Vol.1, p.150.
89. Henderson, op.cit., p.23. Erskine believed that Maurice's The Kingdom of Christ presented a balanced evaluation of the subjective and objective elements of Christianity. His own view was that the objective was of value only so far as it led to a subjective, or personal apprehension, of the faith (Hanna, op.cit., pp.180-181).
90. Recent work on Erskine includes J B Logan, 'Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, lay theologian of the Inner Light' in Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol.37, 1984; D Finlayson, 'Aspects of the life and influence of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, 1788-1880' in Scottish Church History Society Records, Vol.20, 1980. For Erskine's relationship with Maurice, see A R Vidler, F D Maurice and Company (London, 1966), pp.242-249.
91. Life, Vol.1, p.135.
92. Ibid., p.137.
93. Henderson, op.cit., p.60.
94. "We are not in a state of trial: we are in a process of education directed by that eternal purpose of love which brought us into being" (Henderson, op.cit., p.128).
95. Quoted in Logan, op.cit., p.35.
96. Hanna, op.cit., p.303.
97. On Irving, see A L Drummond, Edward Irving and his Circle (London, 1937), H C Whitley, Blinded Eagle: An introduction to the life and teaching of Edward Irving (London, 1955), and C G Strachan, The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving (London, 1973).
98. The most recent study of Campbell is G M Tuttle, John McLeod Campbell on Christian Atonement: So Rich a Soil (Edinburgh, 1986). See also J Macquarrie, 'John McLeod Campbell 1800-72', in The Expository Times, Vol.83, 1972, and J B Torrance, 'The Contribution of McLeod Campbell to Scottish Theology' in Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol.26, 1973.
99. Scott's career has recently been surveyed in J P Newell 'A Nestor of Nonconformist Heretics: A J Scott (1805-1866)' in The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society, Vol.3, 1983.
100. DS, p.xiv.
101. DS, pp.xvi-xvii.
102. Life, Vol.2, pp.406-408 (= Tracts for Priests and People, No.14, pp. 64 - 67).
103. Life, Vol.1, p.183.
104. Ibid., pp.199 and 322.
105. Ibid., p.35-36. The son of a Leicestership Baptist minister, Hall was educated at the Baptist Academy, Bristol, and Aberdeen University. After a probationary period as an assistant minister in Bristol, he served in Cambridge (1791-1806), Leicester (1807-1825) and again in Bristol as minister of Broadmead Church from 1826 until his death. "Hall's fame rests mainly on the tradition of his pulpit oratory, which fascinated many minds of a high order. His eloquence recommended evangelical religion to persons of taste", said Alexander Gordon (DNB). He became widely known following the publication of his sermons on Modern Infidelity (an attack on rationalism) in 1800, Sentiments Proper to the Present Crisis (a patriotic address preached in the expectancy of an invasion (1803)), and On the death of Princess Charlotte (1817). Hall was an advocate of popular education (which brought him into contact with Michael Maurice), an emphatic supporter

- of the anti-slavery movement, a social reformer (especially on behalf of the Leicestershire stocking-makers), and an eloquent exponent of the 'nonconformist conscience' long before the term was coined. The chief source for the life and works of Hall is Olinthus Gregory, ed. Works of Robert Hall, A.M., (London, 1836, six volumes); Vol.6 contains a memor of Hall by Gregory. See also G W Hughes, Robert Hall (London, 1961).
106. Life, Vol.1, p.123.
 107. Ibid., p.viii.
 108. Ibid., p.47.
 109. Ibid., p.120.
 110. Life, Vol.2, p.403..
 111. Hall's Works, Vol.6, p.166.
 112. Ibid., Vol.5, p.518.
 113. Hall quoted in Hughes, op.cit., p.20.
 114. Hall's Works, Vol.5, p.528.
 115. Ibid., Vol.6, p.45.
 116. Ibid., Vol.5, p.412. Coleridge's Aids to Reflections may have begun - at least in the author's mind - as an edition and biography of Leighton (See S Prickett, Coleridge and Wordsworth: The Poetry of Growth, Cambridge, 1970, p.192).
 117. Hall's Works, Vol.5, pp.32-33.
 118. Ibid., pp.39-41.
 119. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.48.
 120. White's Life was written by the eminent Unitarian minister, J H Thom, London, 1845, republished 1971. It is interesting to note that when in 1885 Thom was being urged to publish a new edition of his book on White, he told Martineau that "theology in England has so advanced... that the book would not now further promote the cause he had at heart" (Ms. letter Thom to Martineau, 4 September 1885, DWL. MSS.24.153 44). See also A J Cross Joseph Blanco White: Don José Maria Blanco y Crespo, Liverpool, 1984.
 121. Life, Vol.1, p.115.
 122. Palmer quoted in J W Burgon, Lives of Twelve Good Men, (London, 1889, two volumes), Vol.1, p.157.
 123. Tulloch, op.cit., p.105.
 124. Life, Vol.1, p.162. He never got to know Newman or Pusey while at Oxford (Life, Vol.1, p.182). "I knew Manning at Oxford" (Ibid., p.533).
 125. G Prevost, ed. The Autobiography of Isaac Williams (London, 1892), p.52.
 126. P Magnus, Gladstone (London, 1963), p.8.
 127. Life, Vol.1, p.103.
 128. Frend (1757-1841) was a Fellow of Jesus College when Coleridge went there in 1791. Two years later he was tried before the Vice-Chancellor's court and excluded from the University because of his Unitarian views. He exerted considerable influence on Coleridge. See F Knight, University Rebel: the Life of William Frend (London, 1971). Michael Maurice makes reference to his friendship with William Frend in Ms letter Maurice to Dawson Turner, 21 November 1812. (Dawson Turner MSS).
 129. Michael Maurice, John Bawn
 130. This was R H Hutton's understanding of Maurice's position. Hutton, op.cit., p.329.
 131. His biographer says: "By the time that he went as an undergraduate to Cambridge, many of the convictions and impressions were already

- formed or dormant in him, which, though they subsequently took various shapes and colours, remained the substantive portion of his thoughts throughout life". (Life, Vol.2, p.530).
132. Life, Vol.1, p.129.
 133. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.247.
 134. B Smith, ed. op.cit., p.242; KC, Vol.1, p.59.
 135. H L Short in TUHS, Vol.10, 1952, p.53.
 136. Hall's Works, Vol.5, p.41.
 137. William Turner looked back to Cudworth and Whichcote and believed their views "would admit of a Unitarian interpretation" (J R Beard, Unitarianism Exhibited, p.95).
 138. Drummond and Upton, Vol.1, p.127; cf. J J Tayler, Retrospect, pp.130 and 512.
 139. Indeed, the conversion of Maurice from the ranks of the young radicals to membership of the Anglican Church, stronghold of privilege and reaction, puzzled his friends, among them John Stuart Mill: "I have always thought that there was more intellectual power wasted in Maurice than in any other of my contemporaries. Few of them certainly had so much to waste. Great powers of generalization, rare ingenuity and subtlety, and a wide perception of important and unobvious truths, served him not for putting something better into the place of the worthless heap of received opinions on the great subjects of thought, but for proving to his own mind that the Church of England had known everything from the first, and that all the truths on the ground of which the Church and orthodoxy have been attacked (many of which he saw as clearly as any one) are not only consistent with the Thirty-nine articles, but are better understood and expressed in those articles than by any one who rejects them". (J S Mill, Autobiography, London, 1873, p.108).
 140. The Inquirer, 26 April 1851. Maurice gradually moved towards the Unitarian opinion. Certainly, by 1870 he was wishing that the Athanasian Creed could be "banished from our service" (Life, Vol.2, p.618).
 141. Michael Maurice's son "might have been far more extensively useful had he started on his career from the point of knowledge to which his father had attained, and exerted his intellectual abilities for the benefit of mankind, uncramped by those Creeds and Articles of his Church which sit so clumsily upon him...he would have escaped the unhappiness of having his feelings outraged by some doctrine of his Church at which his heart recoils" (Edmund Kell, Christian Reformer, 1855, p.416).
 142. Coleridge, Aids to Reflection, p.295, quoted in A M Ramsey, op.cit., p.18
 143. Schleiermacher quoted in B M G Reardon, From Coleridge to Gore: A century of religious thought in Britain (London, 1971), p.10. On this vital aspect of Schleiermacher's thought, see also C Welch, Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 1799-1870 (New Haven, 1972), pp.62-67.
 144. Theological Essays (London, 1891), p.101. (Hereafter, TE)
 145. Prospective Review, 1853, p.564.

CHAPTER FIVE

Maurice among the Unitarians

The principal source of Maurice's knowledge of Unitarianism was his own father with whom he remained on affectionate terms throughout his father's long life.¹ We must now look at Maurice's links with other Unitarians or Unitarian sympathisers, and evaluate the extent to which they influenced his thought and shaped his career. In childhood, Maurice would have been familiar with his father's ministerial colleagues and members of the Unitarian congregation at Frenchay, and from time to time he would have come into contact with his mother's family, the Hurry's and the Cobb's, members of Unitarian congregations in East Anglia. At Cambridge, contacts with Unitarians were sharply reduced. His undergraduate friend John Stock came from a Unitarian family in Bristol, but had subscribed by 1826. Maurice does not appear to have associated with Unitarians during his period in review journalism in London. Blanco White was at Oxford during Maurice's residence there, but no evidence is available to suggest that they met, though Maurice was familiar with White's spiritual pilgrimage.² Maurice knew something of the teaching methods of Thomas Belsham, maintaining that he imposed "conditions of thought upon his pupils".³

After his ordination in 1834, Maurice built up a friendship with Alexander Scott, through whom he came into contact with leading Unitarians and liberal thinkers in London. Scott himself was very much an individualist, whose radical theology invited strong criticism from his orthodox contemporaries. He gave a leading place in his thinking to the concept of 'spiritual conscience' and emphasised Christ's humanity as

the sphere of God's revelation. Like Edward Irving, he believed that Christ shared man's fallen state. He was banned from his native Church of Scotland pulpits, and rented rooms in London where he expounded his theology. There he had the sympathy of the Unitarian minister, Solly, who in 1861 dedicated to Scott his book The Doctrine of the Atonement. Following his death in 1860, The Inquirer reprinted a lengthy obituary notice which had appeared in the Scotsman,⁴ and the Prospective Review carried an encouraging account of one of Scott's sermons, declaring his purpose to be "the reconciliation of philosophic culture and religious faith".⁵ Scott also taught at University College, London, where he associated with Unitarians and Unitarian sympathisers such as Francis Newman, Harriet Martineau, the mathematician Augustus de Morgan⁶ and Elizabeth Reid.⁷

The advent of the Christian Socialist Movement (1848-1854) brought Maurice into contact with the prominent Unitarian minister Henry Solly, who became a devoted admirer. There were occasional meetings between Maurice and James Martineau, and Maurice was familiar with the work of Martineau's associates, Tayler and Thom. He was also friendly with the Winkworth sisters, who though not themselves lifelong Unitarians, were open to Unitarian ideas and on intimate terms with leading Unitarian teachers. There is evidence to suggest that Maurice spent time reading Unitarian theology,⁸ and he was aware of the contents of Unitarian journals.⁹ The name of the American Unitarian R W Emerson occurs from time to time in the writings of Maurice.¹⁰ Emerson evidently impressed Maurice's friend and mentor Julius Hare, who once took Daniel Macmillan to task for some disparaging remarks he had made about Emerson in the first Macmillan catalogue.¹¹

Henry Solly (1813-1903)

Solly was a Unitarian minister whose family had deep roots in English nonconformity - one of his ancestors was the Puritan historian Daniel Neal. Between 1840 and 1862 he was successively the minister at Yeovil, Tavistock, Shepton Mallet, Cheltenham, Carter Lane (Islington) and Lancaster. He worked for the betterment of the working classes, and was the first General Secretary of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, founded on his initiative in 1862.¹²

Maurice first met Solly in 1849, when he invited him to attend a meeting in St Martin's Hall, Longacre, between clergy and working men. Up to then, Solly had known Maurice only through his books, which had greatly impressed him, and they were both friends of A J Scott. Referring to the 1849 meeting, Solly later wrote that "from that night forth, my love and reverence for him, and my gratitude for all benefits and blessings I have derived from him and his writings, have been gradually increasing during succeeding years".¹³ During the 1850s and early 1860s Maurice and Solly worked closely together on projects concerned with working men's colleges and institutes. Solly regularly attended Maurice's Bible classes. In its obituary notice for Solly, The Inquirer wrote that he "took a distinct line in theology and to the last he had a mediating word to offer both to Trinitarians and Unitarians".¹⁴ Maurice learned a great deal about current Unitarian teaching as a result of his friendship with Solly, although Solly was a far from typical Unitarian minister.¹⁵ By 1861 he had arrived at an understanding of the nature of Christ, "that He must be of the same substance or spirit with God", a position far removed from that of popular Unitarianism.¹⁶ In the preface to his book on the

atonement he refers to Maurice as his "greatest spiritual benefactor on earth".¹⁷ Solly's autobiography shows that it was Maurice's theological influence that dominated the friendship, but the book is a valuable indication of the ways in which Maurice made his impression felt by a man who, despite theological unorthodoxy (from the Unitarian point of view), remained a Unitarian minister and worshipped in Unitarian chapels to the end of his life.

James Martineau (1805-1900) and other Unitarian acquaintances

Maurice's familiarity with current Unitarian teaching was facilitated by his contacts with James Martineau. Though no more representative of the general body of Unitarian ministers than Solly, Martineau nevertheless exerted a considerable influence on his denomination. Under the leadership of Martineau and his colleagues the character of a substantial part of the Unitarian denomination was changed. Against considerable opposition they moved away from assertive, exclusive and Bible-based sectarianism towards a spiritual faith based on reason and intuition. When Martineau died, The Times described him as "the English Schleiermacher",¹⁸ and P T Forsyth ranked Martineau with Maurice and Newman as one of the three great theologians of the nineteenth century.¹⁹ A modern authority on Martineau, Ralph Waller, maintains that Martineau's Christology anticipates much that has since come from Geoffrey Lampe and Maurice Wiles.²⁰

Maurice and Martineau were East Anglians, who were born within four months of one another. They shared a Puritan background and were familiar as children with the same Evangelical literature which was widely used by devout Unitarians at that time. Hannah More's Practical

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Piety awoke a sense of sin in the young Martineau which led to a profound note of penitence in his work.²¹ Similar works were found in Maurice's childhood home.²² Each was deeply affected as a young man by the death of a relative - Maurice by that of his sister Emma, Martineau by that of a young Unitarian minister married to his cousin. Carpenter says that the death of this young minister (Henry Turner) was a key factor in Martineau's religious development and in his own words "turned him from an engineer into an evangelist" - he had been destined for a career in engineering, and served part of his apprenticeship at Derby.²³ They loved Plato, and admired Coleridge, Wordsworth and Tennyson.²⁴ Both had heard Robert Hall preaching and Martineau quoted him from time to time though not without a note of criticism.²⁵ Theologically, both struck out on lines of their own. Martineau's opponents felt that his reliance on inner conviction undermined the whole foundation of received Unitarianism,²⁶ in much the same way as Maurice's critics believed he was discarding the fundamental elements of the Christian faith. Both Martineau and Maurice were persecuted by the religious press - Maurice in the pages of The Record, and Martineau in the Christian Reformer.²⁷ Martineau often felt that he was an outsider and that some congregations looked on his sermons "as a sort of treachery or surrender of the party banner".²⁸ Like Maurice, he was deeply hostile to the concept of sectarianism. Carpenter says that his whole being "was a living protest against the spirit of sectarianism".²⁹ Martineau, following the old Presbyterian tradition, felt that Unitarians ought to be catholic in sympathy, though free from creeds and dogmas. In matters of religion, reason was for Martineau the supreme authority, to which even scripture had to be submitted. His was a theology based on the inner workings of the human spirit, not on miraculous revelation from outside.

Maurice was deeply impressed by Martineau's sermon on the text, 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you' (John XV.16) since it supported one of Maurice's central themes, the priority of God's activity. Martineau's view that "it is for God to rule and guard our conscience, not for our conscience to take care of God" is exactly paralleled by Maurice's rejection of the idea that Christian faith is based on man's choice of God.³⁰

One of Martineau's biographers³¹ describes Maurice and Martineau as friends, but it is more likely that they were simply acquainted with one another. After all, a series of sixty five letters from Thom to Martineau, covering the period 1847-1894, contains no references to Maurice or to any of the theological or social debates in which he was involved.³² But they dined together from time to time³³ and when Martineau heard Maurice preach in 1857 he was deeply impressed. "I heard Maurice for the first time last Sunday, and was astonished at the power of his preaching".³⁴ In 1869 Martineau became a founder member of the Metaphysical Society, along with Arthur Stanley, Tennyson and Gladstone. Maurice joined in 1871. Following Maurice's death, Martineau paid tribute to him at the close of a sermon: "No leader of our time, scarcely any past preacher of righteousness, can be compared with that servant of God who has just been taken from us, and whose mantle has not yet dropped upon the earth".³⁵ A few years later Martineau wrote that "the intensest element of Maurice's influence was in the persuasiveness of his living presence. But he has been the chief cause of a radical and permanent change in the 'orthodox' theology - viz, a shifting of its centre of gravity from the Atonement to the Incarnation - a change which prepares

it, as soon as it can drop the methodology and discern the philosophy of its own doctrine, to encounter from a vastly improved position the spreading doubts respecting a Living Loving God".³⁶ James Martineau was the most significant figure among Maurice's Unitarian acquaintances. Like Maurice in The Kingdom of Christ, Martineau had struck out on his own with his Rationale of Religious Enquiry in 1836. But whereas Maurice trod a lonely theological path for another thirty years Martineau by the 1860s had substantially altered the character of Victorian Unitarianism.

Maurice knew Martineau's close associate John Hamilton Thom (1808-1894) who was occasionally in the Lincoln's Inn Chapel congregation,³⁷ and he was acquainted with a third member of the Martineau mediating party, John James Tayler (1797-1869). Tayler held Maurice "to be a truly excellent and earnest man; but his heart seems to me better than his head".³⁸ Maurice and Tayler were both friends of the German diplomat and lay theologian, Christian Bunsen (1791-1860), who moved with ease amongst progressive Anglicans and nonconformists alike. The brothers Joseph Henry Hutton (1822-1899)³⁹ and Richard Holt Hutton (1826-1897), members of an old Unitarian family, were closely acquainted with Maurice and his books, and under his influence both left Unitarianism. Richard Hutton later said of Maurice "to him more than to any other living man, I certainly owe my belief that theology is a true science, that a knowledge of God in a true scientific sense, however imperfect in degree, is open to us".⁴⁰ Richard Hutton had been introduced to Maurice by their mutual friend, Henry Solly.⁴¹

Another of Maurice's Unitarian acquaintances was the novelist Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (1810-1865), wife of William Gaskell, a leading

Manchester Unitarian minister and colleague of Martineau. Maurice admired Mrs Gaskell's novels, especially Ruth, in which he in fact appeared as a model for a sympathetic clergyman.⁴² They first met in May, 1849, during Mrs Gaskell's major appearance on the London literary scene.⁴³ She heard him preach at Lincoln's Inn the same month, and liked him "very much indeed".⁴⁴ She heard him preach again in June 1854, and in May 1859,⁴⁵ and their friendship certainly continued until her death. She shared Maurice's dislike of Calvinism and described herself as more Arian than Humanitarian.⁴⁶ She was deeply distressed at Maurice's dismissal from King's College, and sought the help of Charles Dickens.⁴⁷ Elizabeth Malleson (1828-1916), a member of a prominent Unitarian family, was deeply influenced by Maurice and valued his friendship. The founding of the Working Men's College in 1854 led to her opening her own college for working women ten years later.⁴⁸ Here one of the first teachers was Octavia Hill (1838-1912), granddaughter of the prominent Unitarian reformer Thomas Southwood Smith, and a fervent disciple of F D Maurice. Thus the circle in which Maurice moved contained various people who had at some time been drawn to Unitarianism, or whose thinking reflected some of the beliefs of Unitarians.⁴⁹

Among these was Cardinal Newman's younger brother Francis William Newman (1805-1897), who was associated with University College, London, and was a friend of Martineau.⁵⁰ Maurice's contacts with Newman were intermittent, but John Sterling (Maurice's friend and brother in law) was on intimate terms with him. He made him the guardian of his son Edward which greatly displeased Maurice, since Newman saw Christ as "an erring and imperfect...creature".⁵¹ Newman found Maurice's writings obscure but on Martineau's testimony he said he believed "there is in him a noble and

self consistent religious theory".⁵²

Maurice's friends and admirers, especially during the Christian Socialist period, included the daughters of the wealthy Manchester silk manufacturer, Henry Winkworth. Best known of them was Catherine Winkworth (1827-1878), translator of German hymns and campaigner for women's education.⁵³ She and her sister Emily admired Maurice, but it was their sister Susanna who discussed theology with him. Susanna (1820-1884) was "for many years a Unitarian, but returned to the English church in 1861". She shared Maurice's concern for the education of women, and worked to improve the housing of the poor people of Bristol.⁵⁴ Though the Winkworth sisters came from an Evangelical background, they had been tutored and deeply influenced by Martineau and William Gaskell.⁵⁵

The breadth of Maurice's sympathy with a quasi-Unitarian position is indicated in Susanna Winkworth's account of a conversation she had with Maurice about attendance at Holy Communion. She asked Maurice what he meant by "a living faith in Christ", and whether "one was to test the rightness of one's coming by one's answer to formula of invitation or by the Nicene Creed as a profession of faith?" Maurice said he did not think any but the clergy were bound to subscribe to the Creed. Susanna tried "to tell him as near as I could what I did and did not believe and thought I made it pretty clear that I was not a Trinitarian...I could not assign a distinct rank to Christ". Maurice told her that she was "quite right to cherish such fears and must not quench them but wait and see what I came to". Further, he pointed out that the Church of England recognises no other ground of exclusion from the Lord's Table than notorious evil livers. The church did not mean to exclude people whose

opinions might be extremely wrong or even injurious. Later Susanna told Maurice that she thought the Unitarians "as good Christians as other people...(and)...should not even feel myself at liberty to stay away from their communion". Maurice said he did not see it in that light, "but he by no means wished to exclude them from the Christian brotherhood, that he thought their rite an utterly imperfect one and (something like this) 'one must think so if one thought the other right and refusal to communicate did not mean cutting them off from Christian sympathy'".⁵⁶ We know that Maurice did not require Confirmation as a pre-requisite for Anglican communion - he administered the Sacrament to his father,⁵⁷ and to Henry Solly on at least one occasion.⁵⁸

Another of Maurice's acquaintances for whom he had a high regard was Stopford Brooke (1832-1916), an Anglican priest who became a Unitarian. Following the public outcry against Brooke when his biography of F W Robertson was published in 1865, Maurice was prepared to offer him a curacy (had there been one available).⁵⁹ Brooke's theological views were greatly influenced by the writings of Martineau⁶⁰ and the American Unitarian R W Emerson.⁶¹ In 1888, Brooke left the Church of England, though he was able to continue as minister of the Bedford Proprietary Chapel, Bloomsbury, where Martineau was a frequent worshipper.⁶² In later years he described himself as "a leading Unitarian" and often preached in Unitarian chapels.⁶³ The Inquirer devoted three columns to Stopford Brooke's obituary sermon on Maurice and said that Brooke spoke of Maurice "out of the fulness of personal knowledge and close religious sympathy".⁶⁴

The Nature of Friendship with Maurice

Though the number of Maurice's Anglican friends and admirers was small (Julius Hare, Charles Kingsley and Arthur Stanley were among the chief), he had a wide circle of acquaintances among Unitarians, Unitarian sympathisers, former Presbyterians like Alexander Scott, and former Quakers like Samuel Clark (to whom the 'Letters to a Member of the Society of Friends' which became The Kingdom of Christ were originally addressed).⁶⁵ He had no close friends among High Church Anglicans and was loathed by Evangelicals. In the words of Richard Hutton, he was "feared by those curious in the arts of safe ecclesiastical navigation".⁶⁶ Unitarians were not curious in these arts, and so were not threatened by Maurice. But deeper reasons must be found for Maurice's failure to form lasting friendships with all but a handful of Anglicans.

Firstly, Maurice felt himself further from some fellow Anglicans than from non-churchmen because, in his judgment, they insisted on forming divisive parties, instead of remaining true to the inclusive Catholic Church which he believed must embrace all men. He could sympathise with Martineau (whose own vision was of an all-embracing church free of doctrinal tests) more than with Pusey or Liddon. He was convinced of the "deep, inward faith" of Unitarians, and admired them for their reverence for Christ.⁶⁷ His tract Subscription no Bondage indicates an early concern to address sympathetically opinions held by Unitarians.⁶⁸

Again, Maurice could discuss controversial doctrinal issues face-to-face with Erskine of Linlathen or Alexander Scott and remain on terms of close friendship. Yet, when engaged in the notorious debate on the nature of

revelation with his fellow Anglican, Henry Mansel, Maurice used language which he later deeply regretted, and the whole affair resulted in deep animosity between the two. Maurice clearly felt more threatened when his teaching was questioned by fellow members of the Church of England than by non-Anglicans. Did he, as a one-time nonconformist himself, feel more at ease with dissenters than with ordained members of his adopted church? Maurice the outsider needed to hang on to his sense of individuality, a profoundly Unitarian quality, bringing his nonconformist heritage with him and transforming it until it became part of his uniquely perceived Anglicanism.

Compared with his archdeacon brother-in-law, Julius Hare, or his country parson friend Kingsley, Maurice's experience of the Church of England at work was strictly limited.⁶⁹ His Warwickshire curacy was brief and his specialised work at Guy's Hospital and Lincoln's Inn tended to isolate him from mainstream Anglican life. The pages of The Kingdom of Christ, and later The Prayer Book and The Church a Family, suggest a theoretical rather than a practical knowledge of the church.⁷⁰ Because the Anglicanism that Maurice defended was a deeply personal interpretation, his very being was under threat when his version of its creeds was questioned by fellow Anglicans, and this risk was avoided by building friendships with nonconformists. Certainly, when he engaged in debate with Anglicans on deep issues, his intemperate language left no room for friendship. These matters were too much the stuff of life and death to be concluded with a smile and a handshake. So Maurice's Anglican friends tended to be exceptional individuals such as Hare,⁷¹ or men younger than himself who looked upon him as their 'Master' or 'Prophet'. Thus, Fenton Hort was twenty three years his junior, John Ludlow sixteen years,

Kingsley fourteen years and Arthur Stanley ten years. There was much less chance of Maurice being wounded by these friends. After all, if they challenged him, he could ascribe it to their immaturity.

Maurice then, was far less on the defensive when he discussed theological issues with his Unitarian and other nonconformist friends than with contemporary Anglicans. As a result he was free to build up an intimate relationship with them, to learn from them, and to exert his own influence over some of them. There is a considerable amount of evidence to suggest that it was Maurice's personal goodness that first won sympathy for him and opened the way for his theology. He was "Christ-like, if I may dare to use the word" as a childhood friend said.⁷² Even Dean Church (who could scarcely be thought to have much sympathy with Maurice's theology) discerned the secret of his influence when he wrote "those who were his friends are never tired of speaking of his grand simplicity of character, of his tenderness and delicacy, of the irresistible spell of loveliness which won all within its reach".⁷³ As The Inquirer said after his death, he produced a profound impression "upon all who were brought under the charm of his personal influence".⁷⁴ When Emily Winkworth first met him she told her sister Catherine that he was "so good - just as good as one had fancied, which is a comfort".⁷⁵ The Anglican priest Charles Kegan Paul, who passed from Anglicanism to Roman Catholicism by way of Unitarianism, spoke of "loving him personally".⁷⁶ Mrs Gaskell constantly heard of people who "owed more than they can well speak of without breaking down to Mr Maurice's writings or Mr Maurice's self".⁷⁷ Henry Solly shared Kingsley's feeling that "no words could tell the blessing" that Maurice had been to him.⁷⁸ Solly's view was that there never was a man "who left on minds those who

knew him intimately a deeper impression of utter unselfishness".⁷⁹
 Hutton detected that it was "the intense inwardness of his spiritual faith" that enabled him to cross denominational frontiers and to build deep and lasting relationships with people whose theological tenets he tried to understand but could never accept.⁸⁰

The intensity of Maurice's spiritual life made those who knew him well regard him with something like awe. Julia Wedgwood records how five university men, wondering whom they would want to be with them during their last hours on earth, decided to write down their choice. When the papers were opened they contained one name - that of F D Maurice.⁸¹ His wife testified to the intensity of his prayer life,⁸² and there is no doubt that the vision at the heart of his prayers - the perfect union of God and humanity in Christ - revealed to him only too sharply his own limitations, for he knew that if he was

"thoroughly possessed and penetrated by that Spirit, I should find myself in sympathy with the beliefs of all sorts of men, that I should hate their denials and my own,⁸³ and should be always enlisting their beliefs against their denials".

He was convinced of an already existing "bond of union with Arians, Unitarians, Sabellians, as well as those who reject the form of baptism" and he did not need to bargain with them. He simply but profoundly believed that the God whom he worshipped was

"not far from any one of them, that they are in His presence at every moment, that the love of the Father, the Son and the Spirit is an atmosphere⁸⁴ which is surrounding them as much as it is surrounding me".

As his friend Richard Hutton observed, Maurice taught nothing that he did not teach intensely.⁸⁵ His preaching was marked by "forcible energy" as Stopford Brooke discovered.⁸⁶ He felt intensely that he had been "sent into the world that I might persuade men to recognise Christ as the

centre of their fellowship". He blamed himself for "separating myself from relations, letting go friendships"⁸⁷ but he underestimated the value of his friendship to many non-Anglicans and its effect on their lives.

This sympathetic attitude enabled him to draw out the positive side of Unitarian teaching, while reducing to a minimum their criticism of his own position. Maurice never discarded the positive tenets of Unitarianism. He entirely approved of the Unitarian witness to God's Unity and Fatherhood.⁸⁸ These principles were the constant theme of his own teaching. But God, seen by Unitarians as distinct and benign, was not a distant figure separated from His creation. Maurice criticised Unitarians for asserting "the absolute unqualified love of God" while at the same time denying that He had, in His own person, acted "to redress the evils and miseries of His creatures". Unitarians taught that God merely pardoned those who filled the world with misery, but had never Himself shared in it or devised any means of deliverance other than sending "a wise teacher".⁸⁹ Maurice accepted that the vision Unitarians had of God might console them, but he believed the next step was to combine their positive belief in a Heavenly Father with his own "equally positive belief in a man who called Himself His Son".⁹⁰ This was a hard "bridge" for a Unitarian to find and so long as he built his theology on "certain deductions of the intellect, or upon certain individual consciousnesses" it would remain so.⁹¹ So, said Maurice, God is a Living Person who is active in the affairs of mankind and whose Fatherly nature is shown by His sharing in the human situation in Christ.

Maurice sympathised with the spiritual pilgrimages of his many Unitarian friends and his comments on their beliefs are always couched in

charitable terms.⁹² Nevertheless, Maurice's relationships with Unitarians were markedly one-sided. The Unitarians came, quite literally, to Maurice. Martineau, Solly and the Huttons all heard Maurice preach at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, but there is no evidence to show that Maurice ever attended a Unitarian place of worship once he left his father's chapel at Frenchay. This was because Maurice saw no possibility of the Kingdom of Christ being revealed if the task of uncovering the foundations was left to sects or parties. His vision of the Church of England with her sacraments, ministry, national structure and special relationship with the state, was of an all-embracing Catholic body. The theologian's task was to reveal the foundations already laid by the Living God, not to establish anything new. So Maurice had to be a minister of that church and accept its ancient creeds, no matter how ill-fitted to his scheme his Unitarian friends might think them.

As he grew to maturity, Maurice sought personal intercourse with his Heavenly Father and an assurance that He was personally involved in the tribulations of mankind. As we have seen, Unitarianism met neither of these needs. Instead, he found them supplied in a belief in the Incarnate Son of God in whom humanity shares in the Divine Life. Yet this belief involved not only the raising up of mankind, but the stooping down of God. With a shared conviction in the love of God towards His creation, Maurice remained linked to his Unitarian contemporaries as together they addressed the social issues facing their generation. Maurice's commitment to Christian Socialism suggests that he would have agreed readily with Martineau's view that it is the Church's task "to heal, to cleanse, to clothe, to lift, to free, to educate" so that there may be "some correspondence between the divine affinities and the secular surroundings of the soul".⁹³

NOTES

1. Thus in 1851, when his father was in his eighties, Maurice wrote "I have been busy looking over the proofs of some sermons on the Old Testament, which I hope soon to present to you. I am also writing on the Gospels. It will be a great delight and cause of thankfulness if I may give them to you all" (Life, Vol.2, p.67). Cf. Life, Vol.2, pp.125 and 153.
2. TE, p.180; Life, Vol.1, p.423.
3. Subscription no Bondage, p.18; cf. Life, Vol.1, p.168.
4. The Inquirer, 27 January 1866.
5. Prospective Review, 1845, pp.327-329.
6. Augustus de Morgan (1806-1871) entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in the same year as Maurice. "He was through life a strong theist, and preferred the unitarian to other creeds, but never definitely joining any church, calling himself a 'christian unattached'". (DNB). He married Sophia Elizabeth, daughter of William Frend. From 1828-1831 and 1836-1866 he was professor of mathematics at University College, London.
7. Mrs Reid (1789-1866) was the founder of Bedford College, London. An active Unitarian, she attended Maurice's Bible classes (Life, Vol.1, p.470). She was a close friend of Mrs de Morgan. (See D Tarrant, 'Unitarians and Bedford College', in TUHS, Vol.9, pp.201-206).
8. TE, p.370.
9. Life, Vol.2, pp.108, 211, 299.
10. TE, pp.82, 181; Life, Vol.1, pp.346, 347; Vol.2, pp.134, 169. Cf. Caroline Fox reported "Called on the Maurices. He talked of Emerson as possessing much reverence and little humility" (W Monk, editor, The Journals of Caroline Fox, London, 1972, p.164).
11. C L Graves, Life and Letters of Alexander Macmillan (London, 1910), p.26.
12. H Solly, These Eighty Years (2 volumes, London, 1893). For recent assessments of Solly, see Kathleen Woodroffe, "The irascible Reverend Henry Solly and his contribution to Working Men's Clubs, Charity Organization, and 'Industrial villages' in Victorian England", in Social Science Review 40 (March, 1975), and A Ruston, 'The Omnibus Radical: Rev. Henry Solly (1813-1903)' in TUHS, Vol.19, 1988, pp.78-91.
13. H Solly, op.cit., Vol.1, p.55.
14. The Inquirer, 7 March 1903.
15. Ruston (op cit. supra) says that though "Solly could be regarded as a Unitarian leper" he nevertheless was found at Unitarian meetings or those of the allied General Baptist Assembly for most of his life, and never formally left the Unitarian ministry. In mid-career, at the half yearly meeting of the Western Unitarian Christian Union at Bath, Solly gave an address on 'The tendency of recent Church Controversies to strengthen attachment to Unitarian principles' (The Inquirer, 20 April 1850).
16. H Solly, The Doctrine of Atonement by the Son of God (London, 1861), p.23.
17. H Solly, op.cit., p.ix. Cf. Solly's autobiography, Vol.1, p.55. Solly reveals that his wife condemned Maurice "for remaining in a church with many of whose official teachings he must have disagreed", and Solly admits that it was difficult for Unitarians to understand Maurice's continued adherence to the Church of England

- (ibid., Vol.2, p.270).
18. The Times, 12 January 1900.
 19. The London Quarterly Review, Vol.93, (1900), p.217.
 20. R Waller, 'James Martineau Revisited' in Faith and Freedom, Vol.38 (1985), p.69. See also R Waller, 'James Martineau: the development of his thought' in B Smith (op.cit.), pp.225-264. Martineau was educated at Manchester College (then at York) and served as a Unitarian minister in Dublin (1828-32) and Liverpool (1832-1857). His long teaching connection with Manchester College began in 1840, travelling to London to lecture fortnightly after the College moved there in 1853. He became a member of the College's full-time staff in 1857, and was principal from 1869 until its move to Oxford in 1885. He ministered at Little Portland Street Chapel in London from 1859 to 1872. From his pastoral experience emerged several volumes of sermons, principally Endeavours after the Christian Life (1843 and 1847), and Hours of Thought on Sacred Things (1876 and 1879), hymnbooks and published prayers. His theological, ethical and philosophical works include A Study of Spinoza (1882), Types of Ethical Theory (1885), A Study in Religion (1888), The Seat of Authority in Religion (1890), and four volumes of Essays, Reviews and Addresses (1890-91).
 21. J E Carpenter, op.cit., p.21.
 22. L Powell, op.cit., p.21.
 23. Carpenter, op.cit., p.24.
 24. For Martineau's 'sacred guides' see Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.348, and M J Shaen, Memorials of Two Sisters: Susanna and Catherine Winkworth (London, 1908), p.488. Martineau's list adds Tauler, Leighton and the German and Wesley hymns.
 25. J Martineau, Studies of Christianity (London, 1858), p.378.
 26. The 1838 Aggregate Meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association took great offence at a speech by Martineau during which he said that the one great function of a religious body was "to generate faith - an absolute reliance that is upon internal convictions - an undoubting self-abandonment, in action and affection, to some great idea worth living or dying for". (Carpenter, op.cit., p.220).
 27. "The truth is, the denominational newspaper is a kind of literature to which I have always felt an aversion and which I believe to be inevitably injurious to the religious spirit of the body which it professes to represent" (MS letter James Martineau to R L Carpenter, 21 January 1888, MCO).
 28. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.289.
 29. Carpenter, op.cit., p.595.
 30. TE, p.107. Martineau's sermon is reprinted in the collection Endeavours after the Christian Life (London, 1867), pp.65-75. Maurice could not have heard Martineau preach this 'False pretences' sermon, and it is reasonable to speculate that he would have been familiar with all the addresses in the Endeavours. Another point which Martineau makes in the sermon referred to above, that religion is not to be used for the maintenance of social order, is paralleled in Maurice's sermon The Warrior's Prayer (London, 1869), p.10: "I cannot wait to learn whether statesmen and lawyers wish us to supply motives which may help out the weakness of the policeman and the executioner".
 31. Carpenter, p.4.
 32. DWL. MSS. 24.153.

33. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.2, p.343.
34. Martineau to J H Thom, 5 December 1857, in Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.452.
35. The Inquirer, 13 April 1872.
36. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.2, p.87.
37. Ibid., Vol.1, p.452.
38. J H Thom, Tayler's Letters, Vol.2, p.89.
39. J J Tayler wrote to J H Thom (6 September 1859): "You have seen, no doubt, J H Hutton's letter to the Brook Street Congregation, and heard the particulars of his resignation. I had been aware for some time of the change that was taking place in his views...they are in fact Mr Maurice's. To me they seem founded on a misconception of the theological value of the Joannean doctrine of the Logos" (Tayler's Letters, Vol.2, p.140). Hutton had been Unitarian minister at Gloucester, Norwich and Manchester. He subsequently became Rector of West Haslerton, York. The Inquirer (16 December 1899) ascribed his conversion to Anglicanism to the influence of Maurice. The Inquirer of 3 September 1859 printed his letter of resignation in full. He declared that Christ had a "subordinat" position "as a derived being...the father being still the ultimate origin of all spiritual life"... "I am not a Trinitarian. I do not believe in the personality of the Holy Spirit. I am no believer in the popular theory of the atonement".
40. R H Hutton, Theological Essays (London, 1895), p.v. Hutton studied under Martineau and Tayler at Manchester New College, London, but received no call to the pastorate of any Unitarian congregation. He edited The Inquirer from 1851-53, but became widely known as a writer through his joint-editorship of the Spectator from 1861 until his death. Martineau wrote to a correspondent: "Mr R H Hutton, with his brother, J H Hutton, has adopted a belief in the eternal Personality of the Son, under the influence so extensive and deep among the best of our younger generation, of Mr Maurice's writings. Where this influence operates on the common notional orthodoxy, it is a pure good; and if it were the only channel through which the consciousness could come of a present Divine Life in our humanity, it would be no less good as a change on our prevailing Unitarianism" (Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.444). The most recent full-length study of Hutton is M Woodfield, R H Hutton: Critic and Theologian (Cambridge, 1986), but for an analysis of Hutton's theological roots and their development, Woodfield is less helpful than G C LeRoy, 'Richard Holt Hutton' in Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Vol.56 (1941), pp.809-840.
41. The Inquirer, 2 October 1897.
42. Maurice wrote "I desire to thank a noble-hearted and pure-minded writer of our day for the courage with which she has illustrated the doctrine...I allude to the beautiful tale of 'Ruth' which on this point and on all others is, I think, as true to human experience as it is to the divinest morality" Lectures on the Unity of the New Testament, 1854, p.xiv. (Hereafter, UNT).
43. "Last night, Julius (Hare) and I met Mrs Gaskell, the authoress of 'Mary Barton', a very delightful woman with a very sweet face" (Life, Vol.1, p.540). Maurice's friend and colleague John Ludlow wrote "On one occasion after one of the conferences, going with Mr Maurice to Mr Scott's, I met at the latter's house for the first time Mrs Gaskell...(She) was ardent for the revival of Politics for the People, of which she had been a regular reader, and I may say we

- were friends from that hour" (A D Murray, ed. John Ludlow, p.150).
44. The Letters of Mrs Gaskell, edited by J A V Chapple and Arthur Pollard, (Manchester, 1966), p.79.
 45. Ibid., pp.298 and 557.
 46. Ibid., p.648. The connections between the Maurice circle and Unitarian sympathisers are reflected in a letter of Mrs Gaskell to her American friend C E Norton, "Mr Crompton's eldest sister is married to Mr Llewellyn Davies, a clergyman...of Mr Maurice's school who has published works/sermons on the Atonement, like meaning of sacrifice, etc. Mr Crompton is not exactly a Unitarian, not exactly Broad Church - but perhaps rather more of the latter than the former" (Letters, p.706). A devoted disciple, John Llewellyn Davies edited Maurice's lectures, The Friendship of Books and a selection of readings from Maurice Lessons of Hope (1888).
 47. Ibid., pp.255, 256.
 48. Hope Malleson, Elizabeth Malleson 1828-1916 Autobiographical Notes and Letters (London, 1926), p.58. She refers, p.60, to "faithfully following the guidance of Mr Maurice's genius". See also R Watts, 'Radical Dissent and the Emancipation of Women 1780-1860' in Faith and Freedom, Vol.38, (1985), pp.71-82). F D Maurice was entirely in favour of female suffrage. See his letter 'Female Suffrage' in Spectator (1870), p.298. The letter was later reprinted as a pamphlet in support of the Suffragette Movement.
 49. On the edge of the circle was the philanthropist and religious writer Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1904), an occasional preacher in Unitarian chapels. She was a friend of Maurice's cousin Dr Henry Goodeve, of Clifton. She believed that Maurice was trying "to harmonize the doctrines of the church and bible with modern thought", but failed because he was trying to put "new wine into old bottles" (F P Cobbe, Life of Frances Power Cobbe, London, 1894, Vol.2, pp.39-40).
 50. The extensive correspondence between F W Newman and Martineau is preserved at Manchester College, Oxford. Newman's spiritual pilgrimage is described in Phases of Faith (1850; republished in 1970 by the Leicester University Press). On Newman, see I G Sieveking, Memoir and letters of Francis W Newman, (London, 1909); W Robbins, The Newman Brothers: An essay in comparative intellectual biography (London, 1966); and an essay on Newman in Basil Willey, More Nineteenth Century Studies; a group of honest doubters (London, 1956).
 51. MS letter F W Newman to J Martineau, 15 November 1847 (MCO); Life, Vol.1, p.381.
 52. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.288.
 53. Catherine Winkworth admired both J J Tayler and F D Maurice. She considered Tayler "a true saint of the Unitarian type...for humility, charity, and candour. I never knew anyone like him except Mr Maurice" (S Winkworth and M J Shaen, Life of Catherine Winkworth, London, 1883-6, Vol.2, p.514). See also R A Leaver, Catherine Winkworth: The influence of her translations on English Hymnody (St Louis, Missouri, USA, 1978).
 54. DNB articles on Catherine and Susanna Winkworth.
 55. Leaver, op.cit., pp.12, 13.
 56. Shaen, op.cit., pp.181-183.
 57. Powell, op.cit., pp.117-118; Christian Reformer, 1855, p.521.
 58. Solly, autobiography, Vol.2, pp.271-2; Cf. Dublin University Magazine (1878), p.587, where Mrs George Boole writes "once I put

- to him (Maurice) this question: Supposing the person to whom he most objected (I instanced M Renan if residing in England) came and said, 'I do not understand your sermons, and I do not believe your creeds; but I believe common worship is a means of promoting charity among those who differ, and I mean to present myself for Communion at your church next Sunday' would you not say that he had just exactly all the right that you have yourself? After a pause, Mr Maurice answered, 'Of course I should'".
59. "There has been no book like it for a long time. You must look at it with profound interest and tenderness" (F D Maurice to a correspondent, 13 November 1865, Life, Vol.2, p.509). "I have a curate. If I had not, I should be ashamed to ask for Mr Brooke's help, who deserves a much better incumbency than mine. Is he in want of temporary duty? Kingsley is looking out for some one who would take his parish for six weeks. I am sure he would delight to make Mr Brooke's acquaintance and to work with him afterwards". (F D Maurice to the same correspondent, 15 January 1866, Life, Vol.2, p.516).
 60. See L P Jacks, Life and Letters of Stopford Brooke, (London, 1917), pp.77-8, and 115. Brooke once asked Dean Stanley whether the Church of England would ever broaden sufficiently to admit Martineau being made Archbishop of Canterbury; Stanley replied "Not in our time", whereupon Brooke said he intended to leave the Church. (Jacks, op.cit., p.324). In a memorial address, Brooke said "Martineau has been the best builder, among many others, of a religion bound up with Jesus Christ, rooted in the confession of the Fatherhood of God, which is agreeable to reason, and in full accordance with the ethical progress of man in history". (Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.2, p.472).
 61. Jacks, op.cit., p.42.
 62. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.2, p.48.
 63. Jacks, op.cit., p.435.
 64. The Inquirer, 20 April 1872. Susanna Winkworth was present and told her sister Catherine "What I missed was that he did not bring forward his prophetic character which was after all the most striking thing in him and is just what Mr Martineau in his sermon did recognise properly. I suppose because Mr Martineau is a prophet himself and Mr S Brooke, though a great preacher, is not a prophet to my mind. I was saying this to Will how marvellously Mr Maurice could see the unseeing and make his fellow men see it, how his words went into one's heart and conscience like arrows and Will entirely agreed and said how he had felt that with Mr Maurice in the same kind of way as he did with Mazzini". (M J Shaen, op.cit., pp.285-6).
 65. Clark, who subsequently became head of Battersea Training College, Rector of Bredwardine and an Old Testament Reviser, left a striking testimonial to Maurice's influence and friendship: "At that time, I was attempting to make myself a utilitarian and something else that I dare not name and was most affected and pedantic in my tastes. F.D.M. was instrumental in teaching me that I was wrong and re-introducing me (so to speak) to myself, the self of reality and childhood. My mind is not yet sufficiently settled for me to be able to put what he did for me into an expressible form; but I feel that he was true and kind and I look on his friendship as one of the happiest events of my life". (Memorials of Samuel Clark, p.60).
 66. R H Hutton, Aspects of Religious and Scientific Thought (London, 1899), p.268.

67. F D Maurice, A letter to R H Hutton affixed to Tract No.14 (London 1862), pp.71-72.
68. Subscription no Bondage, pp.114-115.
69. Life, Vol.1, p.509.
70. This did not escape the Unitarian reviewer of Maurice's The Church a Family, who points out that the Church of England refuses Christian burial for the excommunicate or unbaptized, though Maurice strenuously asserts "the indestructible nature of God's fatherly relations to every human soul (and) the imperishable bonds of a divine Family" (Prospective Review, Vol.7, 1851, p.26). "When did the Church of England ever show any desire to be comprehensive?" asked the reviewer (p.31), in answer to Maurice's attempts to demonstrate the inclusive nature of the church.
71. Exceptional in the sense that he had been born and nurtured on the Continent, was influenced by German theology, and as early disciple of Coleridge was outside the mainstream Anglican life in the 1830's. Cf. "He (Maurice) and those who worked with him were all more or less a 'peculiar people' with special sympathies and special aims in common. This same spirit is rife in the Cambridge Platonists, and one of the 'notes' of the group" (J Tulloch, op.cit., pp.277-8).
72. Life, Vol.1, p.38. Cf. Life, Vol.1, p.200 where Edward Strachey says that Maurice had a "saint-like personal piety".
73. R W Church, Occasional Papers (London, 1897), Vol.2, p.326. Cf. "The influence which he exercised was due at least as much to the contagion of his personality as to his teaching" (V F Storr, The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century 1800-1860, London, 1913, p.342).
74. The Inquirer, 20 April 1872.
75. M J Shaen, op.cit., p.42.
76. C Kegan Paul, Memoirs (London, 1971; originally published in 1899), p.165. Kegan Paul said that from the mid-1850's his views "were essentially those held by the more liberal members of the Unitarian body. I may here say that in my opinion the whole theology of the almost extinct Broad Church party is simply Unitarian...what I mean is that the sermons preached in Broad Churches might have been delivered in any Unitarian pulpits" (ibid., pp.215-216).
77. Chapple and Pollard, op.cit., p.256.
78. Solly, These Eighty Years, Vol.2, p.127.
79. Ibid., p.270.
80. Hutton, op.cit., p.270.
81. J Wedgwood, Nineteenth Century Teachers and other essays (London, 1909), p.29.
82. "Whenever he woke in the night he was always praying. And in the VERY early morning I have often pretended to be asleep lest I should disturb him whilst he was pouring out his heart to God...He never began any work or any book without preparing for it by prayer" (Life, Vol.2, p.285).
83. F D Maurice, The Conflict of Good and Evil in our day, (London, 1865), p.185. (Hereafter, CGE).
84. Ibid., p.183.
85. Hutton, op.cit., p.268.
86. L P Jacks, op.cit., Vol.1, p.127.
87. Life, Vol.1, p.240.
88. Maurice believed that the conviction that lay at the root of early Unitarian teaching was "of a Being not manifested in outward forms,

but manifested in His works: not divided according to the diversity of His operations, but one". They had a strong and inward belief that "the unity of God is a deep, primary truth". This belief had stood its ground against words and dogmas, and everything "which is true in the teaching which men have received has tended to bring it into clearer manifestation". If there was a universal religion, this idea must be at its root. No-one must trifle with these convictions, rather they must be drawn in greater strength and clarity. (KC, Vol.1, pp.137-8). He would not have Unitarians "part with anything which they really learnt in childhood. I would have them cling more intensely than ever to their conviction that there is one God and that He is a Father" (Life, Vol.2, p.447).

89. KC, Vol.1, p.146.

90. Life, Vol.2, p.460.

91. TE, p.128.

92. "I have some connection and early sympathy with Unitarians...the deeper my conviction of the truth of the name into which we are baptized as the ground and reconciliation of all truth has become, the more have I felt a desire to recognise that which I believe they hold or are trying to hold; the more strongly and passionately I believe in the universal atonement and sacrifice, the more do I desire to extricate them from some of the confusions into which the narrow and dark representations of that master-principle and keynote of social harmony have driven them" (Life, Vol.2, p.89).

93. J Martineau, Hours, Vol.2, p.261-262.

CHAPTER SIX

Maurice's Social Witness

Social concern rooted in faith was characteristic of Unitarianism from its earliest days, and its adherents worked to reform schools, asylums, prisons and hospitals not merely as Christians engaged in good works, but because social reform was the inevitable product of their belief in God's Fatherhood and the human potential for good.

The Unitarian writer of Maurice's obituary in The Inquirer in 1872 observed that in Maurice the working classes had lost "a friend who never flattered them but who was never more happy than when he was labouring for their true interests".¹ If by flattered, the writer implied that Maurice was not patronising or paternal, then he had got to the heart of the matter. Maurice's work for the underprivileged was the product of his convictions about God's Fatherly nature and his determination to show that "the Kingdom of Heaven is....the great practical existing reality".² In Maurice's view God had created and structured the human order and the church's task was to teach mankind its place in the divine order, that is, the kingdom of God. Maurice himself did this not by attempting to solve specific social problems but by disclosing the divine framework within which particular issues might be seen in their true perspective. The Bible provided a guide to the law of love which undergirded God's kingdom, but people had been robbed of the gospel which was to tell them "what society is and what it is not; what binds men together, what separates them".³ Mankind had to learn that there was a Fatherly will at the root of humanity upholding the universe and that "justice, veracity, equity, and kindliness" had their source in this will.⁴

For Maurice there was no question of secularising ordinary life, or of separating it from God's kingdom. He felt that Romanism "had treated that life as most heavenly which was most separated from the earth", thereby degrading the common life and surrendering the external world to the dominion of selfishness.⁵ This was quite contrary to the Biblical commandment of "reverence for the earth as an article of faith".⁶

Maurice was convinced that "we cannot reverence heaven or know what it is, if we do not reverence the earth on which Christ walked and which He redeemed".⁷ God has created human life and it is good and holy for it has Christ as its creative, life-giving centre and head, "the eternal centre round which all the different portions of society are moving".⁸

Maurice strongly rejected a Utilitarian idea of a society based on atomistic selfishness. The law in God's kingdom was co-operation. He argued that "Christ tells men the good news that they may have a will in accordance with the Law, that they may overcome that in themselves which leads them to violate it".⁹ The church had a gospel for all men and must

"meet men as men, not according to their rank or social privileges, not according to the degree or measure of their faith, but as men of whom Christ is the Lord, whether they acknowledge Him as such or not, for whom Christ died, whether they feed upon His sacrifice or not, for whom He lives to make intercession,¹⁰ whether they draw nigh to the Father of all through Him or not".

This provided the foundation for Maurice's work amongst the labouring poor of the Warwickshire countryside where he lived first after ordination, and for his work with the sick poor on the wards of Guy's Hospital. Later it gave him the confidence he needed to meet the leaders of the London working men and to co-operate with them in establishing Associative Workshops and ultimately the Working Men's College. This approach to social matters was forged by Maurice as a personal reaction

to Utilitarianism, which he recognised had formed a "compact organised political scheme".¹¹ Its man-centred individualism failed to take account of man's highest religious aspirations, since what altruism it inspired merely grew out of self-interest. It was to Edmund Burke rather than to Jeremy Bentham that Maurice looked. Like Maurice, Burke had a strong historical sense and believed that "law rests upon deep invisible principles, not upon philosophical maxims or generalisations".¹² Society was a living organism and Burke (according to Maurice) believed that "men are social beings by God's constitution and that they cannot be good for anything when they are not living as if they were".¹³ The youthful Maurice of the Cambridge and London days had considered Utilitarianism as a possible option, but he was to find his roots in a man who was "continually seeking for principles which belong to all times",¹⁴ the very quality in Burke which Unitarians such as J J Tayler admired.¹⁵

Maurice's Unitarian upbringing was not the only source of his commitment to the life of man in society, but it unquestionably provided precedent and experience for his own activities. R V Holt has traced the contribution of Unitarianism to social progress in England and shows, for example, how much is owed to pioneers such as Joseph Priestley and Richard Price.¹⁶ Throughout the early years of the nineteenth century Unitarians continued to make a solid contribution to social change. Michael Maurice was deeply concerned not only with the social conditions of his own congregations, but with wider issues such as pacifism and slavery, education and the development of mechanics' institutes. Maurice's friendship with the Unitarian minister Henry Solly, founder of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, has been mentioned earlier, and he also worked with Edward Owen Greening, a prominent Unitarian supporter of the Co-operative Movement.¹⁷ In contrast to the

Anglican Record, the Unitarian newspaper The Inquirer applauded Maurice's involvement with the working men. It supported the Working Tailors' Association and described its leading mentor as a clergyman "not less respected and beloved by the intelligent mechanics of London than by the many finely cultured minds with whom he comes in more frequent contact".¹⁸ A few years later The Inquirer noted sympathetically proposals to establish the Working Men's College.¹⁹ The strong involvement of Unitarians in social affairs encouraged Maurice to make his own contribution, and as late as 1942 R D Woodall wrote in The Inquirer that Maurice gained his "passionate interest in the people as a whole" from Michael Maurice and that "many of his social ideals may be traced back to the influence of his home and to his father".²⁰ Maurice's whole life was a major commitment to the life of man in society and a glance at three areas of activity will illustrate that his very personal approach had a distinctly Unitarian flavour.

Hospital Chaplain

For ten years F D Maurice worked as chaplain at Guy's Hospital, London, where he ministered to the humblest and simplest of people. Yet for Maurice each one had the universal "faculty which deals with the spiritual truths and mysteries",²¹ that spark of divinity that Unitarians recognized in man. He believed that all the patients, the poorest of the London poor, were like himself fellow members of Christ and children of God:

"their sin, it seemed to me, must mean a departure from that state; it must be their true state, that which Christ had claimed for them. I thought I had no gospel for the sufferers in Guy's Hospital, if it was not that. I was ignorant enough of their sufferings and sins, I knew that I was; my ignorance was unfathomable. If I might not say, God your father knows it all, He is able and willing to raise you out of any depth into which you have fallen, I must despair".²²

There was a real state of communion between God and man, and therefore between man and man, for all were "bound to look upon themselves as redeemed and as members of Christ".²³ Maurice emphasised the redemptive love of God, and with an evangelical approach to heart and conscience he told the patients "you have a Father in Heaven who is seeking after you, watching over you, whom you may trust entirely".²⁴ His constant message and re-assurance for the sick was that God was for them and not against them.²⁵

Like the Unitarian Domestic Missions working in expanding industrial centres such as Liverpool and Leeds, Maurice took his message to the people where he found them. Like the Unitarian Missioners he was not concerned to build up church congregations,²⁶ but to teach people that they had a Father who loved them and who had created them for something better than the degradation into which so many of them had fallen. In this sense, Maurice was like his Unitarian contemporaries in using 'education' to lift the poor from their deprivation. The years as a hospital chaplain were extremely important for Maurice and laid the practical foundation of his ministry. There is no doubt that his understanding of the poorest classes of London society was gained on the wards of Guy's Hospital. He had arrived as a promising theologian who had yet to learn how he could be a pastor. He left the hospital after ten years as a pastor, priest and prophet, more than ever convinced of man's substantial unity in Christ, the centre of humanity, and he proclaimed this "sickbed awareness" with vigour and effectiveness for the remainder of his ministry.

Christian Socialism

Between 1848 and 1854 Maurice was deeply involved in the activities of a body of London clergy and Christian laymen who formed a Christian Socialist Brotherhood, of which Maurice was the acknowledged spiritual leader.²⁷ At the time this Brotherhood appeared to some onlookers to be an odd, not to say dangerous, activity for middle class Anglicans. Certainly there was little precedent for clergy of the Church of England attempting to work with the working classes.²⁸ There was however a considerable Unitarian precedent for such involvement, though like the Anglicans they had to work hard to break down their isolation and the suspicions aroused amongst the working classes. As 'the Master', Maurice provided a theological base for the group's work. God through His act of creation has given human life a structure and order, which man is to recognise and with which he is to co-operate. God has already established His Kingdom, a fellowship embracing all human kind. God ruled human society and He intended everyone to enjoy freedom, brotherhood and unity.²⁹ The Christian Socialist Movement was therefore a spiritual enterprise seeking to assert God's order.³⁰ The Bible was not a religious book but "a book of work and business and politics"³¹ and baptism assured men of their universal brotherhood. Christianity was the base of society, the only foundation for socialism, which was itself a proper outcome of a sound Christianity.³² Socialising Christianity for Maurice meant reminding Christians to connect their faith with the whole order of the world and human life, but not commitment to a specific socialist programme. Maurice believed that all classes must co-operate to achieve the ends which God desired. Fellowship and co-operation, which were opposed by competition and selfishness, formed the true basis of human endeavour, an ideal of mutual fellowship strongly espoused by Unitarians such as Henry Solly and William Gaskell, and the influential Malleeson family.

The seven years of the Christian Socialist Movement gave Maurice an outstanding opportunity to join in what he saw as God's work of making the earth "the habitation of blessed spirits instead of demons" as he wrote to Ludlow.³³ Maurice and his followers made contacts across the social gulf, forging a small but permanent link between the church and the mass of the population. But once he had declared to working men his conviction that co-operation and not competition was the law of Christ's kingdom, it seemed to him that he had done all that was needed. Maurice's contribution to the movement was hampered by native conservatism and distrust of the democratic ideal. He was not politically motivated, rather it was his spiritual insight into what God had provided that seemed to him to be the vital contribution. It is open to conjecture whether Maurice fully realised that his efforts to promote Associative work would have led eventually to the abolition of the distinction between capital and labour, something he strenuously opposed. At any rate, it was this contradiction at the heart of Maurice's practical involvement in Christian Socialism which led to his withdrawal. Whereas his friend John Ludlow could go on to become a hardworking civil servant and Chief Registrar of the Friendly Societies, committing himself to scheme after scheme to usher in the welfare state, Maurice returned to education, where the teacher-pupil relationship remained undisturbed, even if the pupil was a working man who could come only in the evening. Nevertheless Maurice made significant theological statements about the nature of the church and of man in society and he played an important part in shaping later Christian Socialist thought in the Church of England, influencing social activists such as B F Westcott, Scott Holland, Stewart Headlam, Conrad Noel and William Temple.³⁴ Yet Maurice himself was not a social reformer. On the contrary, he saw the

Associations as schools in which workers would learn how to contribute more effectively to the existing, divinely-ordered social framework.³⁵ He was concerned to raise men morally and spiritually, not to change the socio-economic class system of his day, to encourage a co-operative rather than competitive spirit. Though Headlam once told the Fabians that they were "freeborn mainly through Maurice's work and courage"³⁶ it is too much to suggest that Maurice is among the fathers of modern liberation theology. Blind to the political and economic conventions which imprisoned the working classes in the 1850s, he was concerned to free them from a false understanding of the Divine Order, rather than alter the structure.

Education

Maurice's approach to education is illuminated by the consideration that his father united the roles of minister and teacher, so that for Maurice, father, pastor and schoolmaster were one, and parental authority was seen as the very ground of education. "A father must educate his child; so far as he has any authority over him that must be an Education".³⁷

Maurice's childhood home provided at one and the same time a domestic and an educational setting. "As soon as he was old enough to enter his father's pupil-room, (he) passed for the purposes of secular education almost entirely into his father's hands".³⁸ Education was constantly discussed at home, and his earliest letter, written when he was ten years old, was about education. As a teenager, he taught reading and writing to the poor children of the Frenchay district. His sisters ran private schools, and Maurice himself helped to educate his youngest sisters, as well as taking a pupil when he was first ordained. During his time at Guy's Hospital he lectured to the medical students and began his teaching association with King's College, where many of his middle-class pupils

went on to ordination after Cambridge or Oxford.

Maurice's classroom skills were poor, yet he managed to bring to education a Gospel fervour. Like Clement of Alexandria, he saw God as the Divine Educator, man's invisible teacher who draws out and nourishes seeds already implanted, "the teachings and impulses of the Divine Word".³⁹ When Maurice described in The Kingdom of Christ the work of George Fox and the principles of the Society of Friends, he maintained that Fox's secret lay in his desire to turn men to their inward teacher.⁴⁰ Education was an affair of the spirit, concerned with man's own mysterious being and his relationship with his creator.⁴¹ It was possible to look at the roots of knowledge and science because God himself was there. Theology was the foundation of all studies and God Himself and humanity's relationship with Him was the subject of every study. "All history and all literature exhibit God's education of mankind".⁴² Men are spiritual beings and their education must be informed by recognition of this fact. Maurice thus elevates the classroom and lecture hall to the level of the temple. Education is not about preparation for a man's role as a worker in society but about the development of people who are in communion with God and related to one another in a spirit of co-operation rather than competition.

Maurice was strongly in favour of women's education and his belief that their full moral development as children of God would not be possible without it comes directly from Unitarianism. In the mid-nineteenth century women and girls belonging to the more prosperous Unitarian families were very probably the best educated females in the country.⁴³ The powerful personality of Maurice's mother and some of his sisters played a part in convincing him of the importance of women's education,

and some childhood verses recall women coming to his home at Frenchay to be instructed in basic literacy.⁴⁴ His sister Mary was one of the first teachers to study and apply Pestalozzi's infant education methods and she drew her brother into discussions which led to the founding of Queen's College, Harley Street, London. Though principally intended for governesses, this was the first college in the country where women had access to higher education.⁴⁵

The educational achievement of Presbyterians/Unitarians in the development of dissenting academies has already been outlined. The nineteenth century educational work of Unitarians was extensive, and they played a prominent role in establishing literary and other cultural societies, mechanics' institutes and Lancastrian schools. Text books and other educational works, in foreign languages as well as English, came from their hands. The careers of Martineau, Tayler, J R Beard, and William Gaskell show a deep commitment to education at all levels, from Sunday School to university. Martineau and Tayler were closely associated over many years with the work of Manchester College both in Manchester and in London. Beard, who represented the propagandist and strongly denominational element in Unitarianism, ran a school of his own in Salford which was attended by the children of Manchester industrialists. He encouraged the formation in 1823 of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute, and one in London the following year.⁴⁶ The criticisms of Unitarians about the exclusive ethos and narrow classical curriculum of the older universities were very similar to those of Maurice,⁴⁷ and in 1828 Unitarians took the lead in establishing University College, London.

To most Anglican clergy in the first half of the nineteenth century the

education of the working class was a dangerous proposition. A rare exception was Edward Maltby, Bishop of Durham from 1836 to 1856 who had been brought up as a Unitarian. Neither must we forget the contribution of Thomas Arnold, who was greatly revered by Unitarians. The conservative view was that at best education taught the lower classes their place in society, at worst it might degenerate into a revolutionary spirit. Too much scientific knowledge would inevitably lead to disbelief. Because of their strong humanitarian emphasis and belief in the vital link between education and moral improvement the Unitarians were keen to help the working man improve himself. Believing that the fulfilment education gave should be available to all, Martineau lectured at both Manchester College and the mechanics' institutes. Maurice accepted this principle but lifted it to a higher spiritual plane. When Maurice and his friends set about forming the Working Men's College it was intended to be a means of leading its students to regard themselves as human beings made in the image of God. He chose the word 'college' because it symbolised a society for fellowship in which men would develop an understanding of a common humanity as the real basis of fellowship. If the mechanics' institutes had set out principally to inform men, Maurice was concerned to educate them. He believed that the working men of his time could play a harmonising role in society if they could be drawn away from sectarian positions into a broad vision of a united humanity. Plans for the college were firmly in hand by February 1854 and to create a wider interest Maurice gave six public lectures which have been widely acknowledged as an outstanding contribution to the subject of adult education, comparable to Newman's Idea of a University.⁴⁸ He declared the ultimate object of the college would be to enable working men to see themselves as spiritual beings, and the great end of their studies would be to cultivate what is human. Within

the college as within the wider world, men would learn to live together in fraternal love. This emphasis on the moral obligations of men as sons of God working with their Heavenly Father in accordance with His Divine Will echoes one of the principal themes of nineteenth-century Unitarianism, and an active Unitarian layman William Shaen (1820-1887) was among the enthusiastic supporters of Maurice's new college.⁴⁹

Summary

Throughout his Anglican ministry Maurice devoted himself to the improvement of the physical and moral conditions of the working classes, even though he was dogged by a sense of failure to achieve anything worthwhile.⁵⁰ Maurice's social involvement was the product of what he understood by God's Fatherly love towards His children. It was very much a movement outwards from a spiritual centre, and finds a parallel in J H Thom's wish to make the pulpit dictate to the common life of Liverpool.⁵¹ Unitarians such as Solly and Thom, who involved themselves in social endeavours similar to those of Maurice, Ludlow and Kingsley, shared Maurice's view of the dignity of mankind, for they all believed that each man and woman, of whatever class, origin or occupation, was a spiritual being. Maurice and the Unitarians were also alike in believing that spiritual development could not take place unless there were educational opportunities and an improvement in physical conditions. Thus, a correspondent in The Inquirer in 1845 maintained that it was "almost useless to attempt to ennoble the poor, unless we can improve their social and physical condition".⁵² Mid-nineteenth century Unitarians had a clear understanding of the organic nature of society, the co-inherence of all classes and the need for co-operative ventures, and it is apparent that Maurice's views (which like those of the Unitarians owed much to Burke) were very similar. The social involvement

phenomenon of Maurice and the Unitarians had roots in a view of the church and its ministers that may be conveniently termed high, in that they saw the church as a body charged by God with grave responsibilities towards the nation, and its clergy as called upon to lead the church's response to the fluid, not to say near-revolutionary, spirit of the 1840's and early 1850's. But for Maurice the church had to be true to its original constitution. It had to assert God's Fatherly love and the sacrifice of Christ for all mankind, spiritual fellowship and practical co-operation. Church and nation would thus be united "not on alliances and compromises, but on the constitution of things".⁵³ His vision of a church able to carry out these tasks was one with which Unitarians had sympathy.

Maurice's social witness then is the fruit of his theology, with its roots in what he believed about the Fatherhood of God and mankind's solidarity in Christ. Michael Maurice and his generation had derived their ideal of the Christian citizen from theological convictions about God's benevolence towards His creation and the inherent greatness of man. The father communicated this social gospel to his son and in turn Maurice was to inspire later Anglican social endeavour. A simple illustration which draws together several unlikely threads may serve to show how the combined Mauricean/Unitarian example has helped shape the social framework of modern Britain. The Settlement Movement which began with Samuel Barnett's foundation of Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel was directly inspired by the teaching of Maurice. Among the many young men who worked there was William Beveridge, who had family links with Unitarianism and was deeply influenced by the Unitarian example.⁵⁴ It is not unfitting to close this section of the thesis on a note which recalls the conviction shared by F D Maurice and Unitarians that "the highest theology is most closely connected with the commonest practical life".⁵⁵

NOTES

1. The Inquirer, 6 April 1872.
2. Life, Vol.2, p.137. E R Norman sees Maurice as a "Tory paternalist" (Church and Society in England 1770-1970, Oxford, 1976, p.172) and speaks of his "social paternalism" (The Victorian Christian Socialists, Cambridge, 1987, p.18). I am not persuaded that paternalism was a principal element of Maurice's social activity. What often appears as paternalism was in Maurice's case a Coleridgean reverence for ancient institutions.
3. LIS, Vol.3, p.223.
4. SM, p.374.
5. PB, pp.102-105.
6. LIS, Vol.6, p.269.
7. F D Maurice, The Ground and Object of Hope for Mankind (London, 1868), p.49 (Hereafter, HM). Martineau wrote "those to whom the earth is not consecrated will find their heaven profane" (quoted in A W Jackson, James Martineau: a biography and a study (London, 1900), p.160. Cf. "The whole theory and practise of our relation to each other rest on the conception that to the Christlike mind nothing is secular; that a universal gospel embraces all human interests, of thought and character, of person and society, of art and letters, of the present and the past" (Martineau, National Duties and other Sermons and Addresses, London, 1903, p.421). [Hereafter, ND])
8. UNT, p.547.
9. SM, p.390.
10. PL, p.xxvii.
11. KC, Vol.1, p.220.
12. KC, Vol.1, p.211. Cf. MMP, Vol.2, p.588.
13. FB, p.237.
14. Ibid., p.232.
15. Tayler's Letters, Vol.1, p.328. Utilitarianism had similarly been rejected outright by Martineau who considered that the doctrine of happiness "plainly makes all duty a matter of taste... and puts an end to the spirit of moral combat of human life" (J Martineau, Endeavours after the Christian Life, p.384. "At the feet of Epicurus a man must needs lay the Christian armour down: for one can hardly fancy the most logical of mortals trying on a breastplate of faith, seeking the battle-field, and fighting -- to be happy". [Ibid., p.385]).
16. R V Holt, op.cit.
17. "Mr Greening was in close co-operation with Kingsley, Maurice, Holyoake, Vansittart Neale, Hughes and others" (The Inquirer, 17 March 1923). The daughter of Thomas Hughes attended Greening's memorial service (The Inquirer, 24 March 1923). See also G D H Cole, A Century of Co-operation (Manchester, 1944), p.159 and passim.
18. The Inquirer, 22 June 1850. Francis Newman was less sympathetic towards the work of the Christian Socialists, and wrote to Martineau: "The very men who are excited by high wages to drinking in idleness will make a violent outcry when a fall of wages takes place and moreover will get the ear and sympathies of Maurice and co for their outcry" (MS letter, 12 September 1851, MCO).
19. The Inquirer, 22 July 1854.
20. The Inquirer, 8 August 1942.
21. Life, Vol.1, p.334.
22. Ibid., p.236.
23. F D Maurice to Sara Coleridge 18 July 1843, quoted in McClain, op.cit., p.91. Catherine Winkworth could understand the value

of such an approach, but was nonetheless puzzled by it, as she wrote to her sister Susanna: "I quite see what an advantage it gives Mr Maurice in addressing men who though baptised are not converted to feel that he has this tie of brotherhood with them and to make them feel it; yet I cannot tell what he does when he comes to dissenters; and I should like to know whether the doctrine exerts any practical influence on his feelings towards pious dissenters for instance or towards unbaptised theists or whether in such cases he falls back on the wider bond that he and they are children of one father and feels that enough to unite them strongly." (M J Shaen, op.cit., p.56).

24. KH, p.112.
25. Life, Vol.2, p.594. Cf. "God is the deliverer of men, not their destroyer" (EJ, p.120).
26. Thus, the Lewin's Road Missioner at Bristol reported that he had never "given the relief this institution affords to the needy with even the feeling that it should operate to induce persons to attend its services" (The Inquirer, 5 December 1846). The Domestic Missions were concerned with education too. A notice in The Inquirer (4 October 1845) informed the public that the London Domestic Mission Society would charge no admission for "a course of Scientific, Historical, and Moral Lectures to the Working Classes" at the City of London Temperance Hall, Cricklegate.
27. The literature on the movement is considerable. See especially T Christensen, Origin and History of Christian Socialism 1848-54, B Colloms, Victorian Visionaries (London, 1982), and E Norman, The Victorian Christian Socialists. Norman notes (p.33) that Maurice's Unitarian background helped him appreciate "the social and material conditions which affect the adoption of religious ideas by individuals and by nations", and thus made him a precursor of the sociology of religion.
28. G C Binyon, in The Christian Socialist Movement in England (London, 1931), drew attention to the work of a handful of pioneers, pp.40-55.
29. Maurice declared in Politics for the People, No.1, 1848, that a "Living and Righteous God is ruling in human society not less than in the natural world...and Liberty, Fraternity, and Unity, under some conditions or other, are intended for every people under heaven".
30. "God's order seems to me more than ever the antagonist of man's systems; Christian Socialism is in my mind the assertion of God's order" (Life, Vol.2, p.44).
31. Life, Vol.1, p.511.
32. "Anyone who recognises the principle of co-operation as a stronger and truer principle than that of competition, has a right to the honour or the disgrace of being called a Socialist" (Tracts on Christian Socialism, No.1, 1850).
33. Life, Vol.2, p.137.
34. Surveys of the wider field can be found in M B Reckitt, Maurice to Temple: A Century of the Social Movement in the Church of England (London, 1947), P d'A Jones, The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877-1914. Religion, Class and Social Conscience in late-Victorian England (Princeton, 1968), and J Oliver, The Church and Social Order: Social Thought in the Church of England 1918-1939 (London, 1968).
35. Thus, in 1850, Maurice argued that successful strikes gave workers a "dangerous sense of their own power" and "in urging them to direct their passion for association" he was "diminishing the rage against capital and helping the manufacturers" (Life, Vol.2,

- p.48). He believed that "our Association-shops are schools, and very practical schools for learning obedience and government; in other words, for showing how a human relation may be substituted for the mere animal connexion between Driver and Slave" (F D Maurice, Reasons for Co-operation [1851], quoted in Christensen, Origin of Christian Socialism, p.141).
36. F G Bettany, Stewart Headlam (London, 1926), p.20.
 37. SM, p.25.
 38. Life, Vol.1, p.27.
 39. KC, Vol.1, p.536.
 40. KC, Vol.1, pp.46-61. Cf. Life, Vol.1, p.277, and Vol.2, pp.219 and 256.
 41. "No power can be an educating one which does not appeal to the spirit of the child and the man" (Life, Vol.2, p.613).
 42. F D Maurice, Learning and Working (Oxford, 1968; first published in 1855), p.33. (Hereafter, LW).
 43. See Ruth Watts 'The Unitarian contribution to the development of female education' in History of Education (Vol.9, 1980). See also her unpublished Ph.D thesis "The Unitarian Contribution to Education in England from the late eighteenth century to 1853", Leicester University, 1987.
 44. Maurice MSS (ADD 7793), CUL. Quoted in F McClain et al, F D Maurice: A Study (Cambridge, Mass., USA., 1982), pp.32-33.
 45. See E Kaye, A History of Queen's College, London, 1848-1972, (London, 1972).
 46. The work of John Relly Beard (1800-1876), is outlined in H McLachlan, Records of a family 1800-1933: pioneers in education, social services and liberal religion (Manchester, 1935. See also R Watts 'Manchester College and Education 1786-1853' in B Smith, op.cit., pp.81-110. Numerous references to the contribution of Unitarians towards the development of education for the working classes can be found in J F C Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960: A study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (London, 1961), especially pp.168-177.
 47. "The universities which ought to be the light and glory of the country are wrapped in the darkness of a barbarous age,...monuments of the antique, the obsolete, the disallowed, the effete", said J R Beard in the Monthly Repository (1831, p.831). In the dedication and preface to his lectures Learning and Working Maurice says (p.32) "I have referred continually to the older universities, because it seems to me that they are passing through a crisis, which will decide whether they are to perish, or to become immeasurably greater blessings to the nation than they have ever been; and that the first of these results will be inevitable, if they attach a vulgar, exclusive, caste signification to the divine, humane, physical lore which it is their function to diffuse". He called upon them not to offer prizes to men of all conditions but "to set before the people of England some standard of worth, such as no prizes ever taught them to contemplate".
 48. W E Styler, in his introduction to the 1968 edition of LW, refers to a need for a fuller appreciation of the significance of adult education, and the vital contribution of Maurice to an understanding of the relationship between work, leisure and learning (op.cit., pp.9-11).
 49. The Inquirer, 12 March 1887.
 50. He felt a "recurring hopelessness of ever being able to exert any beneficial influence on any class of my countrymen" (Life, Vol.1, p.350).
 51. "We want not Common Life to dictate to the pulpit, we want the Pulpit to dictate to Common Life". The new Catholic Christianity

would thus "breathe the love of God and of goodness over men's hearts", said Thom. (Quoted in I Sellers 'Unitarians and Social Change' in Hibbert Journal, April, 1963, p.124). Cf. Martineau's view that "society becomes possible only through religion" (Endeavours after the Christian Life, p.135).

52. The Inquirer, 20 December 1845
53. Life, Vol.2, pp.9-10.
54. J McLachlan, The Divine Image - Religious Humanism from Homer to Hammarskjöld (London 1972), p.169.
55. F D Maurice, The Acts of the Apostles (London 1894), p.315. (Hereafter, AA).

PART THREE

THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Unitarian Contribution to F D Maurice's Theology

So far in this thesis we have been looking at F D Maurice from biographical perspectives set within a Unitarian historical framework. The purpose of this chapter is to review Maurice's dominant theological characteristics, and to consider whether Unitarianism made a specific contribution to the shape and contents of his teaching. It is not intended as a full description of Maurice's theology, since that has been done ably by others, nor is it designed to prove that at heart Maurice was a Unitarian. But it can be argued that his teaching is remarkably similar to that of prominent Unitarians among his contemporaries, putting aside coincidences due to the period's general theological trends.

The first two themes under discussion are Maurice's commitment to the person of God as Father, and his pre-occupation with divine and human unity. Then follows an outline of his teaching about the divine:human relationship in terms of the doctrine of the atonement, the dignity of man and eternal life.

I. GOD AS FATHER

A conviction about God's benevolence, a recurrent theme in the writings of the early Unitarians, lay behind Maurice's own deep commitment to belief in God as a loving Father. All of Maurice's teaching revolves around the axis of his belief in God's Fatherhood and the sonship of man in Christ. When Maurice says that we have "a Father in heaven who does not forget us, who never becomes indifferent to us, who never ceases to desire our good"¹ he shares the fundamental Presbyterian/Unitarian belief

that God is a tender parent who loves all his creation. Features common to Maurice and the Unitarians are diagrammatically illustrated on page 184.

To Maurice more than to any other Victorian theologian we owe the restoration of belief in the Fatherhood of God to a primary place in Christian thought:

"I claim it as the first and noblest distinction of our prayers, that they set out with assuming God to be a father, and those that worship him to be his children".²

He sees it as an important declaration of the Church of England that it

"confesses a father, who has revealed himself in the son; a son, who took our nature and became man, and has redeemed men to be his children".³

An emphasis on the responding relationship of God as Father and man as son lays at the very core of Maurice's theology. He substitutes God's Fatherhood for His sovereignty, sovereign love replaces abstract and arbitrary will. Maurice saw this discovery as a crucial aspect in the conversion of St Paul, who believed that God

"wished men to know of this Christ, wished them to know that he, the universal lord, was not the dark, horrible being which they had formed to themselves out of their own sinful imaginations; that he was what Jesus had manifested him to be, that he was their Father".⁴

God the Father is not "an arbitrary being who commands without a reason, and would have us obey without a reason".⁵ Maurice had a powerful sense of God's living reality and of mankind's relationship with Him. The sense of this substantial union came to him with "stern, hard, scientific reality".⁶ Maurice frequently contrasts this relationship of love with theological systems which presented notions about God, mere expressions about His character and modes of activity, whereas for Maurice God Himself is the great reality. Notions about divinity do not change a man's character and have no hold upon him but belief in a relationship with God is something that gives man "a standing ground for time and for

eternity".⁷ He considered that religion was dead, perhaps even harmful, unless men acknowledged that a personal communion with God the Father was of the essence of Christian faith. As with Schleiermacher and Coleridge, Maurice says that we must feel God within us, the God who supplies strength for our actions and our thoughts. Maurice finds God in everything, for he is both that which we see and the power which enables us to see.⁸ This subjective view of God's personality with its clear immanentist overtones coincided with evolutionary ideas which were demanding a fundamental alteration in the creator/creation relationship.⁹ The doctrine of an external, transcendent God who created by mere fiat was rapidly losing ground. Maurice, who believed in a divine government working "in the course of nature, silently, unobtrusively, through agents known or unknown",¹⁰ contributed to the shift towards an immanentist understanding of God's relationship with His creation. At the heart of this living relationship was communion between God the Father and mankind in Christ.

Maurice's understanding of the Fatherhood of God has several important characteristics. To begin with, there is for Maurice only one way of contemplating God: as Father.¹¹ It was impossible to know of anything of the Son or of the Holy Spirit without beginning from the Father.¹² The discovery of God as Father was "the opening of worlds which that Father has called into existence, which he invites us to explore".¹³ No matter what else Maurice must sacrifice in his theology he will never give up the conviction that he has a Father in Heaven.¹⁴

Next, there is Maurice's conviction that underpinning our existence and upholding the entire universe is a Fatherly will. This is humanity's root and ground¹⁵ and obedience to the will of God is at the root of all

things.¹⁶ The will of God the Father is expressed in sacrifice, since the Father freely gives everything to the Son, eternally sacrificing himself.¹⁷ The Son for his part has as little desire as the Father to live for himself, self-sufficient and independent. His life is willingly sacrificed in faith and obedience to achieve the Father's loving purposes.¹⁸ So Maurice finds a Fatherly will as the foundation of all things, visible and invisible, material and spiritual. This will is a "will to good and only to good; which is a will that all should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth".¹⁹

Maurice's thinking is marked by an overwhelming sense of the Father's nearness to man. He is to be trusted and approached that we might enjoy fellowship with Him, and we are to believe in Him as one who "thinks, feels, acts as a Father".²⁰ He is seeking us and watching over us.²¹ The worst thing that any human being could be told was that he had no heavenly father.²² Misery was the separation of mankind from the Father.²³ Maurice had rightly learned from Unitarianism that God is a Father distinct from ourselves, but He is more than "merely beneficent", as the Unitarians seemed to him to teach.²⁴

Largeness of thinking characterises Maurice's theology and central to his conception of God's Fatherhood is universality: "He is the Father of all the families of the earth".²⁵ The Fatherhood of God is the bond which united Maurice "to the dissenter and the secularist",²⁶ for he and they belonged to that whole family in heaven and in earth which looks up to a Father.²⁷ Because of its universality the Fatherhood of God is also the basis of society, which is not to be renewed by our arrangements but will be regenerated by finding "its order and harmony, the only secret of its existence" in the Fatherhood of God.²⁸ Maurice believed

that sound international morality necessitated "the acknowledgement of such a Father of the whole family as Christ revealed".²⁹ What struck Maurice most in the opening of the Gospels was this emphasis on the "new name of the Father".³⁰ He saw the Sermon on the Mount as being occupied with the kingdom of a Father.³¹ The powers of the Father's kingdom were already benefiting mankind and the world itself was altogether good to the man who referred it to its heavenly Father.³² The Fatherhood of God had to be understood in a social sense and lost all significance when men failed to use the word Father as members of a family.³³

How much of Maurice's understanding of God as Father was derived from his Unitarian upbringing? He himself declared

"I was bred a Unitarian. To realise the meaning of the name of Father, the meaning of the unity of God, is my calling and duty".³⁴

The worship that Maurice experienced as a boy was Unitarian worship addressed to God the Father. This was of signal importance in his theological development and the conviction that God was the loving Father of all mankind became, as has been indicated, his basic doctrine. Maurice "learned in the Unitarian school to feel and think first of the Father" and "to realise the meaning of the name of the Father, the meaning of the unity of God".³⁵ This emphasis on God as Father resulted in Maurice being criticised by mainstream Christians for the Unitarian ring of his theology. Some critics believe that Maurice saw Christ in a derivative or secondary sense, and accused him of Socinianism.³⁶

Maurice had learned to think of God as Father both in the Unitarian chapels where his father ministered and directly at home within his family. A manuscript prayer by Michael Maurice opens by addressing God as "Father of mercies" and refers to him "as our reconciled and forgiving Father".³⁷ Michael Maurice regarded God as the father and friend of all,

addressed Him as the God of love, full of mercy, long suffering, forbearance and forgiveness, and he had no fear that the creator elected some of His children for heaven and others for misery.³⁸ An emphasis on God as the supreme Father is to be found throughout the writings of Unitarian thinkers of the first half of the century. W J Fox said that the Unitarian loves God "because he is the Father, the God of love".³⁹ Unitarians viewed the whole race "as children of an impartial and tender parent, who loves us all".⁴⁰ J H Thom saw religion "as the right relation of man to God: Jesus Christ is the one example of that relation, the living way to the Father, - a way in which you must walk yourselves if you would have a Father, if you would know that you have a father. We are called to be children of God".⁴¹ Just as Maurice emphasised the nearness of God to mankind so the Unitarians stressed living communion with God the Father as "the foundation fact of human nature".⁴² Because they believed that all men were children of a heavenly Father so Unitarians and Maurice alike maintained that the church was a family.⁴³ The relationship of sonship to God is emphasised by Unitarians. J J Tayler wrote "to me the longer I live, the more does all true religion resolve itself into trust - humble, patient, devout submission to the disposals of the Almighty Father".⁴⁴

Maurice then shared with Unitarians the conviction that Fatherhood was the primary feature of God's character.⁴⁵ He shared with them a conviction of the universality of the Father's love and a certainty that the true foundation for the life of man in society was this common sonship.⁴⁶ Unitarians and Maurice alike emphasised the nearness of God though there must have been a coldness in the Unitarian worship which Maurice experienced at home that led him to the view that the Lord of the Unitarians was somehow unapproachable. The problem for Maurice was

that Unitarian teachers had never shown him how to converse with "the holy and invisible God as a real living person".⁴⁷ He looked for something which would give the name of Father reality, for he longed to know God not in a "vague, loose sense" but "actually to know him as a friend".⁴⁸ This deep longing was met when Maurice, in his mid-twenties, accepted the incarnation and the atonement, and developed his belief in the sacrifice of the Father and the total union of mankind-in-Christ with God. Though he could not have derived this faith from his father's denomination, there is in Unitarianism a strong emphasis on the submission of Jesus to the will of God the Father,⁴⁹ and it can be argued that Maurice to some extent derived his powerful concept of the total sacrifice of Christ from his Unitarian background.

As a footnote to this summary of Maurice's view of God as Father, it needs to be emphasised that he put his faith in the Person of God as Father, and not in a general theory of Fatherhood, and there are parallels in the views of Maurice and his Unitarian contemporaries about God as a Person. Maurice characteristically concentrated on God as a Person for he did not believe that truth was to be found in an idea - it was to be found in the very being of God. He believed in Christ the Justifier not in a doctrine or an opinion about justification by faith.⁵⁰ He wrote "He who rules all is not a destiny, but a loving will, not an abstraction, but a Person; not a mere sovereign, but a Father".⁵¹ He believed that the apostles spoke of Christ as a Person "a son of God and a son of man; one who is lord of their spirits and of the spirits of all flesh".⁵² Maurice found that every great religious movement in modern Europe had as its main characteristic a "direct belief in a Deliverer and a King" rather than "a general belief in Christianity".⁵³ He employed the creeds as declarations about a Person in whom trust is to be placed, not a catalogue of ideas or beliefs.⁵⁴ The world itself was "no dead instrument turned forth by a mechanist...it was a world of living, productive forces, governed by a Person".⁵⁵ Maurice's Unitarian friend Solly, in his book on the atonement, quoted a remark of Maurice that "the Church has erred in nothing more than in substituting faith in a proposition for faith in a Person".⁵⁶

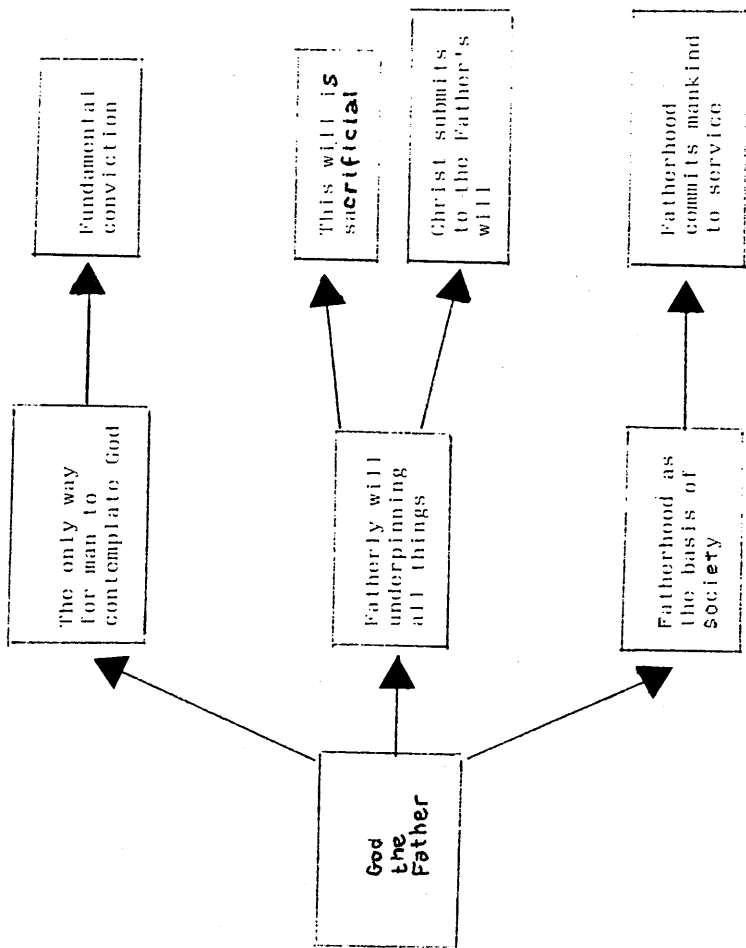
Both Thom and Martineau shared Maurice's convictions about belief in God as a Person. Thom says "we have as our Christianity, not doctrines for our belief, but Persons for our faith", and he believed that when Christ spoke of religion "he dealt with God himself, and not with some doctrine about God".⁵⁷ Martineau speaks about trust in a person (Christ) which was the essential sentiment of faith.⁵⁸ "Religion in its ultimate essence

is a sentiment of reverence for a higher than ourselves...all the sentiments characteristic of religion presuppose a personal object".⁵⁹

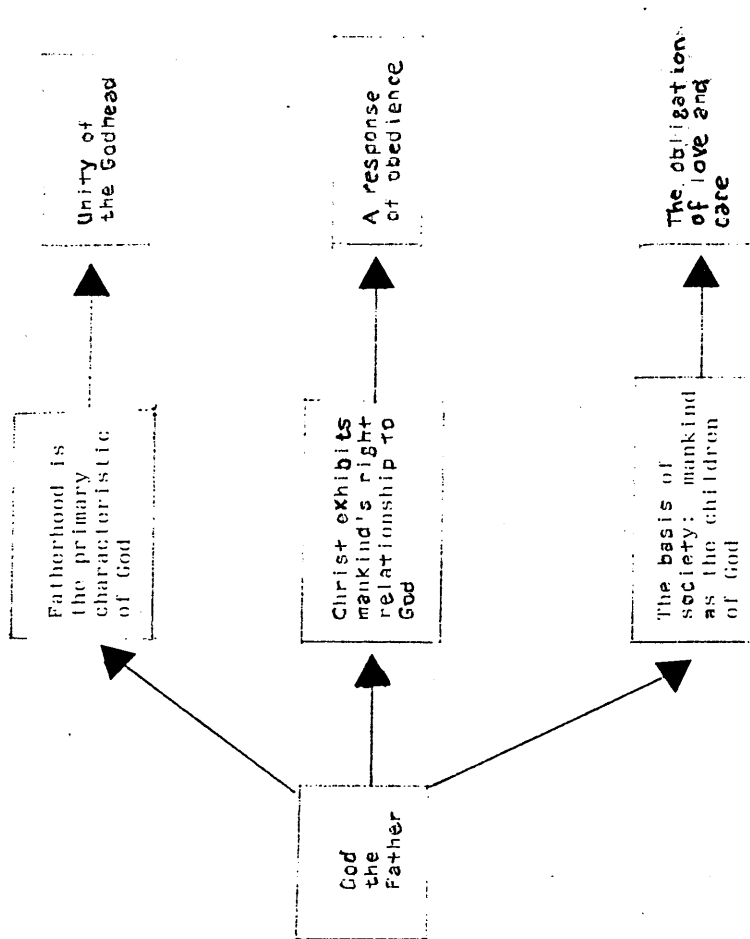
An emphasis on the personality of God resulted in a deep concern for human persons. Maurice and the Unitarians were concerned with Personhood because they felt that man was made for worship and that depersonalising dogma would impose limitations on man's sense of communion with the Divine Being. Maurice was opposed to systems which created a religion about God instead of drawing men into a direct relationship with Him.⁶⁰ He called for a deliverance from dogmatism, but curiously found his deliverance in the creeds which he believed enabled men to realise their relationship with God despite variations of opinion. For Maurice the vital fact about a creed was that the believer was making a personal act of allegiance to a Person - it was not a declaration of belief in a doctrine. "What we believe and trust in is not this or that notion or theory or scheme or document but...the eternal name into which we are baptised".⁶¹ The creeds and the Thirty Nine Articles were for Maurice witnesses to truths which he could not comprehend in his "little system, and which my neighbour cannot comprehend in his little system".⁶² Perhaps Maurice and the Unitarians were contending for the same truth that the glory of the Person of God was too great to be confined within a system (for Maurice) or a creed (for Unitarians).⁶³ Maurice then differed from the Unitarians in that they saw the creeds as restrictions while he saw them as expressions of living principles describing the Person of God. Perhaps the difference was relatively superficial.

GOD AS FATHER

POSITION OF F. D. MAURICE



POSITION OF UNITARIANS



NOTES

1. SCC, p.316.
2. PB, p.7. Cf. "All may be brought to know that this one fact, that they have a Father in Heaven, is worth all the others" (KH, p.114).
3. Life, Vol.2, p.376.
4. AA, p.133.
5. KH, p.95.
6. Life, Vol.2, p.326. Note that Maurice characteristically affirms the reality of the Fatherhood of God in the face of unbelief: "The name of a Father has not ceased to be a true name because baptised men do not own themselves as His children" (The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament, London, 1886, p.476, hereafter PK).
7. F D Maurice, The Religions of the World (London, 1877), p.165 (hereafter RW). Cf. "We have been dosing our people with religion when what they want is not this but the Living God...We give them a stone for bread, systems for realitiies". (Life, Vol.1, p.369).
8. "He gives you sight that you may see him", Life, Vol.2, p.558. Cf. "He created this order, and put them (men) into it, and He sustains them in it" (EJ, p.126); "All the stages of our earthly life on to the last are consecrated; every beautiful spot in nature as well as all the forms of art share in the same consecration, and have that one name of 'Father' illuminating them all" (SCC, p.330).
9. "Arguments about a creator will fall dead upon (our scientific men and our secularists). A message from a Father may rouse them to life". (Life, Vol.2, p.428).
10. KH, p.95.
11. "The word 'Father' itself certainly had for him some meaning and association which it might not have for others and this he never could be persuaded to see. If we could only get our pupils to believe firmly enough that God was Father they would then (he always seemed to fancy) be in possession of all the mental and spiritual wealth with which that belief endowed him - which was most assuredly not the case. A friend of mine who held Mr Maurice in the most affectionate reverence gave me an amusing account of an occasion on which he went to consult him in some difficulty about a Bible Class. Mr Maurice solemnly informed him that God was his Father. My friend said that he humbly hoped he had no doubts about that, that it was not the question he came to ask. Mr Maurice gave him to understand that he had nothing to tell anybody which that word did not convey". (Mrs G Boole, "Maurice and the National Church" in Dublin University Magazine, 1878, p.720). Cf. "Of the fathers in God on earth I have no certainty. Of the Father in Heaven I can be quite certain" (Life, Vol.2, p.446). "The name of Father, which Christ proclaimed, becomes the name which interprets all others, which includes all others. The Divinity which we reverence, is the mind of a living Father. The providence we confess, is the foresight of a Father devising which is best for all his children. The omnipotence which seemed to be on the side of evil, when Christ lay in the manger and the innocents were slain - when Christ died on the cross, and priests and soldiers mocked him - is shown by the manger and the cross to be the instrument which the Father wields for the purposes of his grace, for the redemption of the world". (LIS, Vol.2, pp.73-74). The terms "our Father in Heaven" and "our Heavenly Father" occur constantly throughout Maurice's works, see: Life, Vol.2, pp.153, 227, 565, 574; EJ, chapter 4; AA, p.34; PL, pp.239, 265; PK, p.311. Maurice suggests that mankind instinctively feels after a Father in Heaven". (KH, pp.240-41).

12. "I must begin from the Father if I am to acknowledge the Son", (Life, Vol.2, p.130).
13. EJ, p.179.
14. "Come what will, that Father in heaven must be the true God" (Life, Vol.2, p.460).
15. "A Fatherly Will is at the root of humanity and upholds the universe" (SM, p.372). Cf. op.cit., pp.109, 376; PK, p.172; RW, pp.148 and 198.
16. "According to the Christian Creed, the Authority of a Father, the obedience of a Son, lies at the root of the universe" (SM, p.246). Cf. "He declared that He had come down from heaven to do a Father's will" (SCC, p.324); "The Son can do nothing but in obedience to that will, he believes it, obeys it and so lives in it" (GJ, pp.308-9); "The Will of the Father in Heaven, the Obedience of the Son, take precedence of other principles in the Revelation of Christ" (SM, p.309).
17. "It is the Cross which tells us how this Will is done in Heaven" (PB, p.324).
18. "(Passion Week) tells us that in the agony and death of Christ the will of the Son yielded itself absolutely, unreservedly, to the Will of the Father; and that the whole of that perfectly loving Will shone forth in the acts and the sufferings of a Man (PL, p.165); cf. Christ's sacrifice was "His perfect surrender and submission to the Will of the Father" (op.cit., p.345); "Christian worship... is an acknowledgement of a Fatherly Will, a Will to redeem and restore Humanity, a Will which is expressed in Sacrifice" (SM, p.401); see also Life, Vol.2, pp.253 and 394, and KH, p.102).
19. EJ, p.289.
20. EJ, p.115.
21. KH, p.112; cf. "Our Lord tells him that he is actually, really a child, not only of an earthly parent, but of a Father in Heaven" (LIS, Vol.2, p.294); "We are spirits...we have a home and a Father.. we can have no rest till we find that home and that Father" (TE, p.138); "You have a Father who knows just what you want, just what strength you require for each day" (SCC, p.162).
22. "The great calumny of the devil (is) that man has not a Father in heaven" (TE, p.98). One of Maurice's criticisms of Renan's Life of Christ was that it was telling people "children, you have no father" (Life, Vol.2, p.462).
23. "I carry about with me as you do, as every man does, an unbelief in the Father whom Christ revealed to us, a solitary self-seeking mind which cuts me off from his family" (FW, p.214). "Selfish love is the counterfeit of that self-sacrificing love; the counterfeit, and therefore its great antagonist. The Father's love must prevail over this, or it will drive that Father's love out of us" (EJ, p.122).
24. Life, Vol.2, p.143.
25. SM, p.375. "We meet (in church) to claim all the citizens of the land, rich and poor, as the children of one Father, heirs of one hope" (SCC, p.331).
26. Life, Vol.2, p.611.
27. Op.cit., p.570. Cf. "We bear witness of a Father who claims men of every tribe and colour as His children" (SCC, p.329); EJ, p.122.
28. Life, Vol.2, p.137.
29. Op.cit., p.579.
30. Ibid., p.352.
31. SM, pp.229-230. Cf. "No previous prophet had spoken of a Father as (Christ) spoke. From the moment He opened His lips to preach of

- God's Kingdom to the people, this was the name that came forth from them. The morality of the Sermon on the Mount turns on this name". (F D Maurice, The Faith of the Liturgy, Cambridge, 1860, p.11). (Hereafter, FL). "It was His Father's Kingdom which He said was at hand" (KH, p.138).
32. EJ, p.127.
 33. "God presents Himself to us as the Father of a Family" (TE, p.25); "God is verily and indeed the Father of a great family in Christ... this family is the ground of human society" (and) "is incomprehensible and disorderly which does not confess God for the Father of all its members" (CAF, p.110); cf. CGE, pp.105 and 110.
 34. Life, Vol.2, p.515. Cf. "I would have them (the Unitarians) cling more intensely than ever to their conviction that there is one God and that He is a Father" (op.cit., p.447).
 35. Ibid, p.515. The British and Irish Unitarian Almanac for the year 1848, p.28, stated: "The Unitarian Body consists of all those persons, however otherwise distinguished, who, being Christians, agree in rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity, and in offering divine worship to God the Father only...they are believers in the simple and real unity of God's nature, and in his paternal character and unpurchased mercy".
 36. Maurice replied by insisting that "there cannot be a Father without an only begotten Son of the same substance with himself" (Life, Vol.2, p.515). Solly reports a conversation which supports the view that Maurice favoured the subordinationist position. "I greatly desired to know if the conclusions I had come to coincided with his (Mr Maurice's) own and when I had been speaking of the Creeds of the Church of England I said there was not much difficulty about the 'Apostles' Creed', one or two sentences perhaps excepted, and that in like manner I could for the most part agree with the Nicene Creed for I found that in the original Greek the words translated 'God of God' were 'theos ek theo' showing that its framers meant clearly to maintain the derivative nature and therefor subordination of the Son of God to God Himself, but that I absolutely rejected the Athanasian Creed because it unequivocally denied that subordination and asserted the equality of the Son with the Father. 'Well', replied Mr Maurice, 'that you know was the ground on which Coleridge rejected it, but for my own part I do not see that it does'. If Maurice had seen that it did (wonderful as it may seem to us that he did not) every line of his writings referring to the relation subsisting between the Father and the Son as revealed in Scripture proves that he also would have indignantly repudiated its teaching. No theologian has more strenuously and persistently as well as beautifully dwelt on the filial character and attitude of Christ towards 'our Father in Heaven' urging unweariedly that the Sonship of the Son of God is a cardinal and most blessed feature in the Gospel message". (Solly, Autobiography, Vol.2, p.107).
 37. Bayne-Powell MSS.
 38. M Maurice, John Bawn, p.45.
 39. W J Fox, The Comparative Tendency of Unitarianism and Calvinism to promote Love to God and Love to Men (London, 1813), p.24.
 40. Ibid, p.30.
 41. V D Davis, op.cit., p.38. Martineau in Hours, Vol.1, p.192 is careful to distinguish between God as "Maker" and God as "Father", and to lay emphasis on the latter.
 42. Ibid., p.63.
 43. "A man who thinks himself to be anything, apart from his co-operation with other men, has lost his place, like a stone that has fallen out

- of a building" (J H Thom in Davis, op.cit., p.66).
44. Tayler's Letters, Vol.1, p.329.
 45. "If you ask me which of all the doctrines of Christianity I hold to be the most important, the root from which all the others spring - that which is most clearly set forth in the teachings of our Lord, and furnishes the best criterion by which others less distinctly announced must be measured and judged, I say without hesitation the free mercy, and essential love of our Heavenly Father...let your mind rest on the delightful assurance that God is Love, and suffer it not to be perplexed with any doctrinal subtleties, which do not flow from, and cannot be made consistent with, that fundamental doctrine of the Gospel", (J J Tayler to Agnes Ewart, 17 October 1834, in Tayler's Letters, Vol.1, pp.113-4).
 46. "His Father is our Father, his God is our God, and there is unspeakable comfort in the reflection, that, we are in the hands of such a Father and such a God" (J J Tayler to Henry Enfield, 8 September 1859, Tayler's Letters, Vol.2, p.145).
 47. Life, Vol.1, p.133.
 48. Ibid., p.132.
 49. "The spirit of Christ involves three elements; subjection of will and endeavour to the will of the everlasting Father; affectionate sympathy with humanity in all its stages of development; and the sure expectation of a more glorious futurity both for the individual and for the species". (J J Tayler, A Retrospect of the Religious Life of England, p.320).
 50. TE, p.209.
 51. PB, p.380.
 52. Ibid., p.110. Cf. "The message is concerning a Person; you are called to submit to a Living Ruler; you are called to embrace a Living Friend" (LIS, Vol.1, p.111); "A Person, and not a notion, (Paul) declares to be the ground of this eternal spiritual constitution; a Person, and not a notion, to be the bond of the spiritual and universal society of Jews and Gentiles" (LIS, Vol.3, p.248).
 53. Ibid., p.111.
 54. Ibid., p.148.
 55. GJ, p.20. Martineau (ERA, Vol.1, p.263) believed that one of Maurice's strengths was his recognition "of a living Divine person, instead of mere abstractions without authority, or the dreams of unreliable imagination".
 56. Solly, The Doctrine of the Atonement, p.viii.
 57. V D Davis, op.cit., pp.125 and 140.
 58. ND, p.207.
 59. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.241.
 60. Life, Vol.1, p.518.
 61. PB, p.147. Cf. "I have used the articles in the Creed which they (Unitarians) most dissent from as my weapons against the representations of God which we agree in thinking horrible" (TE, pp.126-7).
 62. Life, Vol.1, p.392. Cf. "I look upon (the Thirty-nine Articles) as an invaluable charter protecting us against a system which once enslaved and might enslave us again" (Life, Vol.1, p.399); "If I be asked whether I do not find these Articles great impediments to spiritual and scientific freedom, I answer, 'Not in the least, but great aids in attaining both.' For I look upon the great check to spiritual freedom, as I have just said, to be the substitution of logical formulaes for facts, and for the Truths which lie beneath them." (Thoughts on the Rule of conscientious subscription, London,

1846, p.20); "Luther himself loved the creeds of the old Church, because they were real and personal. If you had looked into his writings, you would know, that the substitution of the Creed for the scholastic teachings of his time, and not the setting up of his own judgment or opinions, was the great object of his life." (Three Letters to the Rev W Palmer on the Name "Protestant", London, 1842, p.58).

63. "I feel our bond in worship should be spiritual rather than doctrinal, but...I cannot deny that there must be a limit" (J J Tayler to J H Thom, 6 September 1859, Tayler's Letters, Vol.2, p.141).

II. DIVINE AND HUMAN UNITY

Fatherhood was for Maurice the ground and primary quality of God and society was to find its order and harmony in the Fatherhood of God. Gripped by this conviction Maurice felt compelled to search for that wholeness, unity and reconciliation which he believed was eternally existent in God and of which humanity, with Christ as its Head, was the image.

The impulse towards Maurice's social theory of the Godhead came as a reaction to Unitarianism. It was true that the cardinal point of Unitarianism, a conviction about the unity of God, was a positive principle with which no man should dare trifle.¹ But, said Maurice, if this was interpreted to mean that God was numerically one then He was in fact a mere sovereign and not a Father.² Such a God might behave in a Fatherly way towards His creation but there was not within His own nature the essence of loving fellowship. Thus the Unitarians were ever in danger of building

"that ghastly solitary singleness of the Godhead which ends in the acknowledgement of a mere imperial power removed from all sympathy with His creatures".³

Maurice cannot be content with a "being of perfect love wrapt up in Himself".⁴ He rejects narrow, selfish individuality and proposes a divine unity which is "the unity of a Father with a Son in one spirit".⁵ But Unitarian belief also helped Maurice understand that the unity of God was in some way the ground of all unity among men.⁶

Maurice's earliest solid achievement, The Kingdom of Christ, is the product of his theological reflection on the immediate relationship of himself and his family to God the Father. It is the relationship of a broken and divided world with a creator who is in Himself complete

harmony. The book postulated a kingdom of peace and unity more real than the world experienced by men and women in their daily life. In many of his later works Maurice returns to the theme of human selfishness and the sacrifice of God the Father; to separation and reunion; the divisions of mankind contrasted with the harmony of God. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s Maurice's sermons were concerned with the contrast between the unity of God, His omnipresent rule over mankind, and the self-worship of man, and the selfishness of individualism. He was convinced that there must be social solidarity and reconciliation because that was humanity's true constitution according to the will of God. Sacrifice is seen as the only foundation for unity. Maurice was gripped by the certainty that there was an eternal harmony of which all men ought by their true nature to be partakers. He believed that separation could be equated with sin, communion with God was man's true end, Christ was the central fact of the universe, and human unity depended on the eternal unity of God.

Maurice was repelled by the idea of separation of man from man, or man from God, and he found the concept of individualism, that we are "something separate from Christ", horrifying, a "monstrous lie" circulated by the devil.⁷ He believed that the sense of sin was essentially "the sense of solitude, isolation, distinct individual responsibility".⁸ Maurice asserts that men's divisions from one another can be equated with defiance of God: "the sin of the world is its self-will, its self-gratification".⁹ He maintained that the end of all God's acts and dispensations towards men was to bring them out of the condition of "distressed, alienation, sin" into a condition of "dependence, trust, union with Him".¹⁰ When a man believed that he had a Father who loved him and had given His Son for him, then alienation and separation ceased.

Society itself is destroyed when man sees only himself and "sinks to the point where society becomes impossible" and the judgment upon the cities of the plain is God's condemnation of that sin which men commit when they become worshippers of themselves.¹¹ The sin of Joseph's brothers had been "that they would not feel themselves part of a family, that they would not act as if they belonged to it".¹² Maurice claims that God created men to be members of a kind, portions of a society, in His own image.¹³ The first man, and each man since, had been trying to thwart this purpose, to set himself up as a creature, separate from his kind, separate from God. In spite of this inclination, God had gone on asserting His original purpose and leading men to submit to it.¹⁴ Here Maurice distinctly echoes the Unitarian theme of Universality - that all belong to God's kingdom, believers and unbelievers alike. Those who acknowledge God as Father express humanity in its true condition.

W. C. M.

Just as the lie of separation is at the root of sin, so Maurice teaches that the gospel message of reconciliation by the sacrifice of Christ is the ground of perfect unity.¹⁵ Maurice believed that humanity, according to its original constitution, is related to Christ. Grasping that truth he felt that he was "in union with every man however he might differ from me".¹⁶ Maurice's conviction that Christ is the archetypal man,¹⁷ the pattern of humanity, may be compared with the view of Martineau that Christ was "the concrete exhibition of what God means by human nature"¹⁸ and that He stands "for our humanity for ever".¹⁹ Both declare that the Christ event affirms the eternal relationship of humanity and God and is definitive for man.²⁰ Elsewhere Martineau uses the word "emblem"²¹ to describe Christ and further, that Christ is "the type and head of our race in its heavenly relations".²² Martineau's use of the word "head" is of particular significance when compared with the crucial place this word

occupies in Maurice's Christology.²³

For Martineau Christ was "the middle point of reconciling harmony", the one who destroyed the distance between man and God.²⁴ For Maurice, Christ was our peace, the centre²⁵ of union and fellowship between the tribes of the earth; humanity stood united in Him.²⁶ Christ the Head of the race became a member of it in order to remove the discord and anomalies that were resisting the Father's purposes.²⁷ The cross bound men in one society²⁸ and mankind's unity was to be brought about "by abiding in Him" and not by self-willed efforts.²⁹

The true law of human society according to Maurice is that man does not have to effect for himself what God has already done. The Holy Spirit unites men to the Father and the Son and to one another.³⁰ Human unity is essentially and eternally dependent on the Divine Unity.³¹ The unity of God is "the primary truth of the universe".³²

The desire for unity haunted Maurice all his life long:

"I have never been able to substitute any desire for that, or to accept any³³ of the different schemes for satisfying it which men have devised".

He had been bred a Unitarian and he had learned throughout every experience that:

"in the fullest and best sense of the word I can be nothing else than a Unitarian - the pursuit of unity³⁴ being the end which God has set before me from my cradle upwards".

With the Unitarians he sighed for "that unity which all the strifes and divisions of the world are rending".³⁵

The significance for his theology of Maurice's upbringing in a denominationally broken home must not be forgotten. Opinions divided the

household but affection held it together.³⁶ Maurice experienced the warmth of love and the pain of conflict in that little household at Frenchay. It became for him the model by which all relationships within the human family must be understood. Later, as he came under the influence of Plato, the inadequacy of the model was revealed. Maurice's idealism enabled him to transfer the tensions and affections of his life on to the eternal activity which he believed was present in the Godhead. Plainly society could not be regenerated by following the example of the Michael Maurice family; yet since it had been created in God's image, mankind could find reconciliation through the grace of God by reflecting the harmony of the Godhead, realised in Christ.³⁷ Thus Maurice found the answer to the divisions of home and nation alike in the gospel where he discovered "Him who is the living centre of the universe".³⁸ Christ was the destruction of every wall of partition between man and man. Maurice's life's work was to prove that Christ was the Head of every man, the ground for universal fellowship which was the foundation of the particular fellowships of nation and family.³⁹ It was the business of the Church to assert this ground of universal fellowship.⁴⁰

NOTES

1. KC, Vol.1, p.138.
2. TE, p.110.
3. F D Maurice, 'A Few more words on the Athanasian Creed' in Contemporary Review, October, 1870, p.487.
4. TE, p.109.
5. PK, p.491.
6. KC, Vol.1, p.138. Cf. "The idea of a unity which lies beneath all other unity, of a love which is the ground of all other love, of Humanity as connected with that love, regarded by it, comprehended in it; this is the idea which has hovered about the mind of the Unitarian" (KC, Vol.2, p.379).
7. Life, Vol.1, p.155.
8. TE, p.25; cf. "Sir, the experience of a dark, hopeless isolation, caused by one's own self, certain to continue while that continues. And this it is which unites Sin to Death" (ibid., p.134); "What we want is not that we should attain some separate and selfish bliss, but that he, who has been striving with us all our lives through, to deliver us from the separation and selfishness which have been our torment and our curse, should finally effect his own purpose" (DS, p.314); "The setting up of self, the worship of self, is the evil from which all others flow" (PB, p.383); "The secret of most of our misery is that we are trying to please ourselves" (SCC, p.222); "Sin is what separates us from each other" (ibid., p.54).
9. DS, p.225; cf. PK, p.107.
10. DS, p.192.
11. PL, p.95.
12. Ibid., p.143.
13. "We believe that a man not understanding this constitution, attempting to set up a separate individual life, does divest himself of his glory as a man, does not fulfil the duties of a man." (Subscription no Bondage, p.45).
14. "Their sins had cut them off from Him. Each creature had sunk into itself, had lost communion with its Lord and Father. This was his sin; this constitutes sin. Christ gave himself to destroy sin; to take away the separation which selfishness had produced; to make the perfect Atonement. That Atonement not only restores the union between men and God, it restores the union between men, whom time and space had put asunder." (LIS, Vol.1, p.257); cf. PL, pp.197-198, SM, pp.233-234.
15. GJ, pp.194-195.
16. DS, p.xx.
17. "He has everything which belongs to a man. He enters into everything which there is in everyman. And that is the reason he is called the Son of Man. He is The Man: The Head Man, The King of Men." (SCC, p.54).
18. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.349.
19. ERA, Vol.4, p.543.
20. "The incarnation and sacrifice of Christ (is) a full declaration concerning man and God, a full revelation of the nature of both" (DS, p.287); cf. Martineau: "The mingling of the Divine and human in Christ is not there on its own account, as a gem of individual biography, unique and unrepeatable; but as the type and the expression of a fact in the constitution of our nature...(it) belongs to the essence of the soul and consecrates every human life". (The Seat of Authority in Religion, London, 1890, p.590; On Christ's universality, Martineau says "If, in Christ, this divine margin was

not simply broader than elsewhere, but spread till it covered the whole soul, and brought the human into moral coalescence with the Divine, then was God not merely represented by a foreign and resembling being; but personally there, giving expression to his spiritual nature, as in the visible universe to his causal power" (Hours, Vol.2, p.205, Martineau's italics).

21. J Martineau, Hours, Vol.1, pp.122, 126, 130.
22. ERA, Vol.4, p.569.
23. Life, Vol.2, p.161; cf. KH, p.157; LIS, Vol.4, p.9; LIS, Vol.5, p.265.
24. Hours, Vol.1, p.73.
25. The idea of Christ as "the Centre" is very important in Maurice's thinking. Cf. "Men are crying after a Personal Centre" (Life, Vol.1, p.326, Maurice's italics); "Men want a Centre - they say unity without a centre of unity is a contradiction and impossibility. It must be a real Centre, not a dogma - not a set of dogmas, whether conceived by ourselves, or transmitted by others; every institution must express and manifest this centre" (Three Letters to the Rev W Palmer, p.6); "The Church exists to tell the world of its true Centre, of the law of mutual sacrifice by which its parts are bound together" (LIS, Vol.1, p.251); KH, p.xv; Life, Vol.1, p.326; PB, p.109; PK, pp.271, 421.
26. He "came to bind earth and heaven together" (SCC, p.239). Christ's sacrifice revealed the primal unity which was "the ground on which all things stand, an order which sustains all the intercourse and society of men" (DS, p.194); "He has sent His Son to bind you all together - men of all different callings, men of all different countries, men of all different languages - into one" (SCC, p.118).
27. DS, p.215; PK, p.311.
28. GJ, p.324.
29. Ibid., p.386.
30. Maurice specifically describes the third Person of the Trinity as "the Uniting Spirit" (PB, p.185).
31. The unity of mankind depended on the "eternal distinction and unity in God Himself" (GJ, p.296). Maurice was convinced that all sense of union came from God, and man produced all that marred that union (Life, Vol.2, p.125).
32. GJ, p.19.
33. Life, Vol.1, p.41.
34. Ibid., Vol.2, p.388.
35. TE, p.374.
36. "These (childhood) years were to me years of moral confusion and contradiction" (Life, Vol.1, p.21); "I was much confused between the opposite opinions in our household" (ibid., p.175).
37. "Is not the Cross the meeting-point between man and man, between man and God? Is not this meeting-point what men, in all times and places, have been seeking for?" (TE, p.126).
38. PB, p.109.
39. Maurice believed he had been sent into the world "that I might persuade men to recognise Christ as the centre of their fellowship with each other, that so they might be united in their families, their countries, and as men" (Life, Vol.1, p.240).
40. "To be witnesses to the world which had forgotten its centre" (GJ, p.399).

III. THE ATONEMENT

Maurice always took "our Heavenly Father's love to us for granted"¹ and this eternal love met with in Christ Crucified is the foundation and source of his teaching on the atonement, providing the undergirding principle which draws together its three constituent elements - union, sacrifice, and the concept of an eternal battle. The flow charts on page 216 offer an impression of Maurice's teaching in diagrammatic form, enabling us to see at a glance the relative positions of the different elements which make up the overall structure. At the same time a comparison can be made with the Unitarian understanding of the nature of the relationship between God and man, at the heart of which lies a similar conviction that it is the love of a Father-God towards His creation which is the source of spiritual fellowship.

Union

The theme of union involves two principal ideas:

- (a) Christ's union with God the Father, a primal unity which sustains the order of the universe.

"We see beneath all evil, beneath the universe itself, that eternal and original union of the Father with the Son which this day (Good Friday) tells us of; that union which was never fully manifested till the Only-begotten of the Eternal Spirit offered Himself to God. The revelation of that primal Unity is the revelation of the ground on which all things stand, both things in heaven and things in earth".²

- (b) Mankind's unity in Christ is its original constitution. Christ has a solidarity with mankind and experiences everything that belongs to man.³ Maurice was convinced that mankind stood not in Adam but in Christ,⁴ and "the proper constitution of man is his constitution in Christ".⁵ Maurice sometimes spoke of Christ's substitution by which he meant Christ's "entire identification of Himself with our sufferings and sorrows".⁶

The idea of the entire union of God the Father and God the Son can itself be further separated out. It will then be seen to involve the idea that God the loving Father reveals His eternal nature in Christ crucified.⁷ Maurice complained that his contemporaries did not connect the atonement with the revelation of God.⁸ He believed that all God's purposes are consummated by the Cross which "is the fulfilment and manifestation of His original purpose, when He created all things in Christ".⁹ Creation, incarnation and atonement are thus bound together by Maurice in a way which makes his redemption theology accessible to twentieth-century man in his search for a God who shares in the travail of His creation.¹⁰

Because of the total and eternal unity between the Father and the Son, atonement has a universal dimension, for the Father sees all things in and through the Son.¹¹ Again, because of this perfect unity, Maurice rejects penal substitutionary views of the atonement. Maurice fully develops his opposition to penal theories of the atonement, by which he felt that Unitarians had been misled, in his essay on the atonement in the Theological Essays. Christ's self-offering is "an entirely voluntary act"¹² and there is no suggestion of persuasion or transaction. Christ is not someone whose sacrifice "had changed (God's) mind towards His creatures".¹³ Maurice is opposed to "a scheme for persuading God to be at peace with that evil against which He has declared eternal war".¹⁴ This was not to suggest that God was not displeased with evil, and that such displeasure might appear to be wrath. But it is wrath against that which is unlovely not as a counteracting force to love but as the attribute of it.¹⁵ Maurice had no doubt that "the wrath of God rests upon whatever is evil".¹⁶ Maurice does not see God as a remote Judge; it is rather that in acting to put things right God displays His righteousness. His love is displayed in His sheer freedom to forgive because He is not,

as men once thought, "like themselves...(and) an enemy".¹⁷

In the context of his teaching on the atonement Maurice's theme of the solidarity of mankind in Christ the Head of humanity can also be separated out to involve the idea that Christ as mankind's Head comes to His cross as man's representative and not substitute.¹⁸ Maurice does not see Christ as an isolated individual - rather mankind is included in Him, identified in Him and is carried along in His work of redemption.¹⁹ Maurice's teaching is thus far removed from the view of the current received Calvinism which had at its heart the idea of a just God who needs justice to be satisfied. This could only be done by Christ who gives himself as a penal substitute for the elect portion of mankind, thus appeasing the divine wrath and saving the elect.²⁰ Maurice on the other hand sees that mankind's righteousness before God consists in his having a Divine root in Christ. Christ's work in redemption is seen as man's atoning work.²¹ Indeed Christ had made Himself so entirely one with mankind that "whatever befell Him must befall us".²²

Sacrifice

The second distinctive element in Maurice's teaching, the sacrificial principle,²³ embraces three ideas: the sacrifice is from God to man, and not from man to God;²⁴ sacrifice expresses God's eternal nature; and in the sacrifice of God in Christ, man sees God's true character. Sacrifice belongs to God's inner personality, and since He is the Creator, it is central to the world's constitution.

God's love is the source, ground and foundation of the atonement. Christ had "proved Himself in this act of dying to be the expression of God; for in His death has come forth the very innermost meaning of God's

character".²⁵ Christ's death "manifested the mind and will of the Father".²⁶ When man by faith becomes the witness of this display of God's love, in which He risks all for the sake of His creation, it creates a dynamic for reconciliation that draws man and God together. Man's life hereafter is to be one of sacrifice after the manner of God in Christ.²⁷

The sacrifice of the cross is the consummation of Christ's total submission to the will of God the Father, the ultimate act of self-surrender in a life of complete obedience. His life of sacrifice is fully drawn out by the cross which exemplifies sacrifice as the core of the life of Jesus.²⁸ In this constant pulling together of the life and death of Jesus, Maurice follows in the path of the Greek Fathers who argue that in taking flesh Christ redeems flesh.²⁹ In Christ

"all was self-denial, self-surrender; the love of the Father worked mightily and unresisted in the heart of the Son, till it was broken and offered with the whole body and soul as a complete sacrifice".³⁰

The crucified Jesus consummates all the sacrifices in the history of humanity, and sacrifice is the key to the life of mankind according to the will of God.³¹ The obedience and fellowship of mankind is derived from and sustained by the loving submission of Christ to the will of God the Father. Thus Christ's incarnation and sacrifice is "a full declaration concerning man and God, a full revelation of the nature of both".³²

Battle

The third distinctive theme with which Maurice's teaching on the atonement is occupied is the idea of a battle, and he makes extensive use of the Biblical vocabulary of warfare. He speaks of a battle in which evil, or alternatively, the Evil Spirit, the Accusing Spirit or the Devil, is defeated;³³ further, there is an emphasis on the transitory nature of evil. Maurice maintains that evil is not permanent, and that God is not

excluded but is a power superior to it, and (in J O F Murray's words), evil is not "a permanent blot on the Universe".³⁴ Despite its "nuisance value" it is to be seen only in the light of the Gospel, in retrospect as it were, already and for ever overcome by the Victory of the Cross.

Maurice believed that the ancient doctrines of the Church spoke of an actual fight in which he and all mankind are engaged. Yet mankind could rejoice for the battle involved a deliverance from oppression and tyranny, from a sense of slavery, from death, and from the domination of self.³⁵

The Eternal Word which became incarnate in Christ has triumphed, for He "manifested that Eternal Life which was with the Father, and over which death has no power".³⁶ Nevertheless, Maurice had a deep consciousness of personal sin and was painfully aware of a battle that raged within him as he sought to overcome evil, renounce self, and unite his spirit to God. Maurice's "Christus Victor" vocabulary expresses an emotional need that was running alongside his intellectual assent to Christ's eternal sacrifice of Himself in response to the Father's love.

Unitarian teaching on the Atonement

Leading Unitarian thinkers of Maurice's day held views about the purpose of the Christ's death which were in sharp contrast with current Christian teaching, and they rejected with particular vehemence theories of substitution by which Christ bought off the hellfire deserved by mankind. Salvation was not by Christ's substitution, but by divine influences that lift mankind to see the infinite love of God. There was no specifically Unitarian teaching on the atonement since they held that God ~~intended~~ man to make steady progress towards the end for which he had been created. Though one Unitarian teacher might defend the general position with a different emphasis from that of a colleague, there were a number of common themes. These were principally a concentration on the goodness of God,

an optimistic view of the nature of man, and a concern with the education of man's spirit as a crucial element in his drawing closer to God.

An emphasis on the unchanging benevolence of God, which was characteristic of Unitarians from the early coming together of the denomination in the eighteenth century remains a valuable contribution to atonement thinking, obliging us to discard any theory of redemption which involves God's deliberate alienation from His creation. Priestley declared that "we have all one God and Father, whose affection for us is intense, impartial and everlasting. He despises nothing that he has made".³⁷ Seventy years later the Unitarians officially described themselves as "believers in the.... paternal character and unpurchased mercy" of God. They rejected doctrines of natural depravity and sacrificial atonement and believed that the ends of religion were holiness, benevolence, piety, and faith in immortality.³⁸ This conviction of "the ground-work of beneficence"³⁹ led the Unitarians to a belief in man's affinity with a good and benevolent Father, and this in turn convinced them that man had a divine root. There was a "universal connection of God with the human mind".⁴⁰ They believed that man was reconciled to God through repentance and his efforts to lead the good life. They saw repentance as something more than mere sorrow for past transgressions. It implied "a deep and humiliating sense of past guilt, leading to a change of mind and heart, a rooting out of evil dispositions".⁴¹ Since reconciliation was brought about through God's willingness to forgive man, and man's resolve to repent and strive there was no place for substitution by Christ or any form of transaction requiring Christ's death on the cross. They could not reconcile the idea that God was unwilling to forgive the truly penitent "without the satisfaction made by the sufferings of Christ to his offended justice" with their root belief in the paternal benevolence of God.⁴² Unitarians

took "their fixed station on the personal character and untransferable nature of sin".⁴³ The mercy of God was always available and Christ offered spiritual leadership to mankind.⁴⁴

The characteristically optimistic outlook of Unitarians led them to a belief that man is by nature disposed to goodness, and what really mattered was a life well lived. According to Michael Maurice, atonement consisted in mankind's pursuit of the just, true and venerable, a coming to the knowledge of the truth and the enjoyment of eternal life.⁴⁵ Elsewhere Unitarians claimed that God required "no other propitiation from frail and erring mankind than a penitent and humble spirit; and a will earnestly devoted to his service".⁴⁶ They viewed Jesus as man's ideal who subjects His own will to that of the Father of all mankind. Thus, Christ's sacrificial death is figurative; what was crucial was the spirit of the cross. Martineau saw Christ's death as "manifesting the last degree of moral perfection in the Holy One of God"⁴⁷ and self-sacrifice was the "very essence and crown" of religion.⁴⁸ The death of Jesus was seen by devout Unitarians as the climax of the perfect life led by the supreme example of mankind, worthy to be set before all other men as a model and an ideal.⁴⁹ Maurice's friend Henry Solly saw "filial sacrifice to God" as the great purpose of man's being.⁵⁰ Jesus stood at the "topmost point of human history".⁵¹ In their sermons, the Unitarians, instead of emphasising Christ's sufferings on the cross, called attention to His spiritual leadership as a model for conduct, and "the homage which we pay to his death is but another way of submitting ourselves to the authority of his life".⁵²

The third element in the Unitarian scheme concerns the dynamic operation of the spirit of a benevolent God upon the spirit of an essentially good

creature. God is the Divine Teacher and mankind learns what is God's attitude to him and how he must respond if he is to "reflect the divine lineaments".⁵³ This dynamic activity involved two aspects: (a) an educative process⁵⁴ operating through the conscience of man, whereby he is led to see and do his duty; and (b) the place of Christ as the teacher who reveals in His own life both the intention of God for all mankind and the supreme example of its realisation through total obedience to God's intention.⁵⁵ In Martineau's words, Christ opened "the moral and spiritual mysteries of our existence".⁵⁶

Conclusion

The unchanging character of God as the loving Father of all mankind was the central and guiding principle of the theology of Maurice and Unitarians alike. In their consideration of the place of the cross in the relationship between God and His creation, both give the manifestation of God's character major emphasis. Maurice maintains that the love displayed by Christ on the cross is the love of God. The cross interprets all other manifestations of "the character of (God's) inmost being".⁵⁷ For Martineau, the first and lasting value of the cross lay in its being the expression of Christ's character.⁵⁸ While human conscience is the only inward revealer of God, Christ is God's perfect and transcendent outward revelation.⁵⁹ But each human soul contains "divine possibilities" and therefore the humanity of Christ was nothing less than a theophany.⁶⁰ Maurice maintains that the relationship of God the Father with Christ, and Christ's solidarity with mankind involves no antagonism between the love of God and the self-offering of Christ. The Unitarians saw a harmonious relationship in the attitude of a benevolent Father towards His creation and the role of Christ in the spiritual progress of mankind.

With Maurice's next concern, sacrifice, we may compare the Unitarians' basic optimism about the character of humanity. For Maurice, sacrifice is not one of the options open to mankind since it is central to the life of Jesus and is grounded in and belongs to the nature of God. It is a contradiction of the proper constitution of the race for man to behave other than sacrificially.⁶¹ Martineau meanwhile speaks of Christ as the "concrete exhibition" of God's intention for humankind.⁶² "The incarnation is true", he says, "not of Christ exclusively, but of man universally".⁶³ For both Maurice and Martineau the cross is the supreme revelation of Christ's character. The total obedience of Christ to the will of God the Father, culminating in the sacrificial death of Jesus on the cross, Maurice maintains is God's intention for all mankind. The Unitarians argued that all men were disposed to a moral life in which the sacrificial spirit of Christ might be displayed.⁶⁴ This too was God's intention for all, and, as Thom affirmed, Christ fulfilled this "universal vocation".⁶⁵ Like the Unitarians Maurice was repelled by the legalistic strain of much received teaching on the atonement. Like them he could not accept a "limited salvation" believing that Christ died for all not for an elect number only. Morbidly introspective, some of Maurice's family (especially his mother) looked inwardly for signs of their election whereas Maurice (not without some difficulty) directed his thoughts away from himself to God's victory in Christ for all mankind.

Maurice's theology of redemption is essentially about the unveiling of the mind of God in Christ with the principle of sacrifice at its heart, and we have seen how an emotional need led him to speak in dramatic terms of the victory of life over death, of conflict, ransom and deliverance. He saw the Bible as "the book of the wars of the Lord" and on the cross God fought a battle with all that was resisting His will for creation.⁶⁶ The

Bible described the experiences of Maurice himself as he sought "a light in the midst of the deepest darkness".⁶⁷ The Unitarians too were concerned about opposition to God's intentions. No less than orthodox Christians they took very seriously man's selfishness and the tyrannical hold of sin. They could not "evade responsibility for its deformities".⁶⁸ But as for Maurice, so for Unitarians, sin did not have the last word, for it was not God's word. They saw in Christ the supreme teacher who exemplified the possibility that man was "diviner far" than he had ever imagined.⁶⁹ Christ standing in solitary greatness opened at once "the eye of conscience to receive and know the Holy God".⁷⁰ It was not "what men are but of what they might be" that encouraged Unitarians to have noble and cheerful thoughts.⁷¹ On the cross, "victim as he was (Christ) was the conqueror", says Martineau.⁷² Maurice's heart too was lifted up by the knowledge that God in Christ had provided deliverance. Maurice's "victory in heaven"⁷³ and the Unitarian view of Christ as God's "emblem"⁷⁴ alike lead mankind to complete reliance upon their Father in heaven and utter self-surrender to God.⁷⁵

The eternal relationship of communion between God and man was the truth that each individual must recognise if he was to fulfil the potential of his God-given, Christ-exemplified, constitution. Maurice says

"The Cross of Christ makes known to us him, in whom we are created, him by whom we consist, him who is the source of righteousness, of strength, of life to every man, because he is himself the Eternal Son of God, and because by his acts he declares to us what God is working in us, to will, and to be, and to do".⁷⁶

Martineau saw the mingling of the divine and human in Christ "as the type and the expression of a fact in the constitution of our nature...(it) belongs to the essence of the soul and consecrates every human life".⁷⁷

Maurice's Unitarian roots and the strength of the Unitarian protest

against crude penal substitutionary account of the atonement unquestionably played a part in the development of his teaching on this vital aspect of Christian theology. At the age of 26, moving from the fringes of Unitarianism towards the Church of England, Maurice told his father that the Mediator must perfectly manifest God. This concentration on revelation as the central principle of God's work in Christ ensured that Maurice's views would not be entirely unacceptable to Unitarians.

Ultimately, Maurice's theology of the atonement has to do with the dynamics of relationships. Man is always united to Christ who is the Head of humanity, and thereby man is in fellowship with God. In His life and death Christ (in Maurice's view) perfectly reveals the truth that God is with and for man, not apart from and against him. For Unitarians and Maurice alike, it was crucial that mankind should be aware of God's intentions towards humanity. However, in suggesting that for Maurice it is only in providing unambiguous knowledge that the Cross has decisive significance, Christensen⁷⁸ fails to take account of the dynamic of revelation in Maurice's understanding of the atonement. It is precisely when man by grace becomes personally aware of what God is doing at "the meeting point" (as Maurice calls the Cross) that the whole situation is transformed. Just as an actual physical meeting between adults who have been separated in childhood is qualitatively different from the exchange of letters and photographs that precede the meeting, so man's encounter with God at the Cross is an ever-renewing experience. Maurice's thinking on the atonement is thus inextricably bound up with his perception that it is God's will that humanity in Christ should be in union with Himself - reconciliation through Christ's sacrifice of Himself is the ground of divine:human fellowship. Sheer grace precedes man's response and enkindles love within him. Man's response to God's epiphany of love is

not a Pelagian act: he could not have responded unless God had first acted in love towards him. It has to be recognised that this development in his thinking moved Maurice well away from the contemporary Unitarian standpoint, since its Christocentricity demanded a Saviour who could be nothing less than God Incarnate.

NOTES

1. Life, Vol.1, p.130.
2. DS, p.194; cf. "The entire union of the Father with the Son is what we have to assert if we would overcome the notion of a Son who changes the Father's will" (Life, Vol. 2, p.379); "The unity of the Father and the Son is the only ground of the unity between the shepherd and the sheep; undermine one, and you undermine both. And when I say this, I mean you undermine all unity among men, all the order and principles of human society" (GJ, p.295); "(Christ) is the High Priest, the perfect Mediator between God and man, not in virtue of an arbitrary decree, but of an eternal constitution (CGE, pp.111-112).
3. "The giving up of His Son to take upon Him their flesh and blood, to enter into their sorrows, to feel and suffer their sins; that is 'to be made Sin': the perfect sympathy of the Son with His loving will towards His creatures, His entire sympathy with them, and union with them; His endurance, in His inmost heart and spirit, of that evil which he abhorred; this is God's method of reconciliation; by this He redeems it, raises it, restores it" (DS, p.192).
4. Life, Vol.2, p.358.
5. CAF, p.46; cf. "You are looked upon as a race of which Christ the son of God is the head. When He offered Himself to God, He took away the sin of the world. We have no right to count ourselves sinners, seeing we are united in Him" (EJ, p.110); "It is by claiming to be united with Christ that a man becomes righteous. Whilst he tries to be righteous in himself, whilst he wishes to be separate from his true Lord, he cannot be righteous" (SCC, p.68); "St John's calling was to....exhibit the original constitution of man in the Divine Word; to set forth atonement as the vindication of that constitution, and the vindication of all men to enter into it; to set forth the union of the Father with the Son in one Spirit, as the ground of the reconciliation of man, and of his restoration to the image of his Creator" (GJ, p.497); The Apostles "told men that they were not meant to be evil, that they were created in Christ Jesus to good works, that He was the real root of humanity" (PB, p.37).
6. Life, Vol.2, p.22.
7. "Those words, in which He tells us that He lays down His life for the sheep, because He is one with His Father, do but bring out more fully that love of the Father, of which His life and death were testimonies". (GJ, p.290); cf. "There was a Man in whom the Father was perfectly satisfied, and that the ground of His satisfaction was that this Man entirely loved men - entirely gave Himself up for men. He could be satisfied with nothing less than this; for nothing less than this was the expression of His own mind and will" (GJ, pp.291-292); "In the agony and death of Christ the will of the Son yielded itself absolutely, unreservedly, to the will of the Father; and that the whole of that perfectly loving Will shone forth in the acts and sufferings of a Man" (PL, p.185).
8. GJ, p.497.
9. DS, p.208; cf. "The Cross gathered up into a single transcendent act the very meaning of all that had been, and all that was to be. God was there seen in the might and power of His love, in direct conflict with Sin, and Death, and Hell, triumphing over them by sacrifice" (DS, p.256); The apostles treated Christ's death "as that wonderful event to which all God's purposes, from the beginning of the world, had been tending....they looked upon this reunion, or reconciliation, as unveiling a deep mystery - the deepest mystery of all - in the

- relations of God and man, in the being of God Himself" (GJ, p.332).
10. "The love of His sacrifice overshadowed all Creation" (CAF, p.126); cf. "God is Himself the Redeemer of mankind in that son in whom he originally created man" (HM, p.11); "He has appeared in our world, in or nature; He has sacrificed Himself. In that sacrifice we see what He is - what He always has been" (DS, p.108); "The incarnation and sacrifice of Christ (is) a full declaration concerning man and God, a full revelation of the nature of both" (DS, p.287).
 11. "Claim to be members of Jesus Christ, to have that true human nature which is in Him who is one with the Father, and in whom the Father sees all and loves all" (SCC, p.356); cf. "We want the witness and pledge of a common salvation, of a God who cares for all in Christ as much as for us....The sacrifice is His; He gives up His Son for us all" (Life, Vol.2, p.394); "He was the Lord of all before He came in the flesh; therefore God must have looked upon mankind in Him" (AA, p.158); "God asks nothing of (His creatures) but to come into His presence - to believe that they are reconciled in His Son - to believe that He has come who has presented to Him that image in which He rests with perfect complacency....He beholding us, we beholding Him, in His Son" (PB, p.264).
 12. GJ, p.292; cf. "Christ bears death not in obedience to an inevitable fate, but to a loving will; not because the tyrant has conquered the earth and those who dwell upon it, but as an eternal testimony that he has conquered it - that it belongs to the Creator, not to the Destroyer" (DS, p.237).
 13. DS, p.97.
 14. DS, p.207; cf. "Was His reconciliation a change of His mind? Did it make His character other than it was before, or His feelings towards our race more gracious? No!" (PB, p.259); Christ's whole life was "an exhibition" of His Father's will. (TE, p.123). One is reminded of the words of Forsyth (a disciple of Maurice), "the atonement did not procure grace, it flowed from grace" (The Cruciality of the Cross, London, 1910, p.78).
 15. TE, p.121.
 16. CAF, p.23.
 17. DS, p.149. Cf. "This is the crux, to believe in God, to believe that He is not false as we are, not unjust as we are, not indifferent to the well-being of men as we are" (LIS, Vol.1, p.115).
 18. "It is confessed by all orthodox schools that Christ was actually the Lord of men, the King of their spirits, the Source of all the light which ever visited them, the Person for whom all nations longed as their Head and Deliverer, the root of righteousness in each man. The Bible speaks of His being revealed in this character; of the mystery which had been hid from ages and generations being made known by His Incarnation. If we speak of Christ as taking upon Himself the sins of men by some artificial substitution, we deny that He is their actual Representative" (TE, pp.123-124); cf. as man's Representative Christ "enters into the inmost mystery of human sorrow. He becomes acquainted with grief; it is His bosom companion" (DS, p.230); "Christ went under death because He was the Head of all men; because He felt for all men" (SCC, p.182).
 19. A view which in some ways foreshadows that of R C Moberley, who saw that Christ's "relation to the race was not a differentiating but a consummating relation. He was not generically, but inclusively, man" (Atonement and Personality, London, 1901, p.86).
 20. "If anyone separates the words 'reconciled the Father to us' from the context of the article and grafts them on another scheme of Divinity - one which supposes Christ to have suffered and been crucified, to

- have died and been buried, that He might persuade the Father not to punish men, or a certain portion of men, for their original guilt or their actual sins, - he simply changes the whole meaning of the language to which we have subscribed" (Life, Vol.2, p.568).
21. "Men found that the further they went down into themselves the more there was of corruption and darkness and evil, until at last they supposed that the very root of their being was nothing else. St Paul had gone into these depths, he had found this rottenness in himself. But he had discovered that there was a root below himself, a true Divine root for himself, for every man. He found that each man, when he tries to contemplate himself apart from Christ, is that evil creature in which no good thing dwells. But no man has a right to contemplate himself apart from Christ; God does not so contemplate him. He was formed at first in the Divine Word. To be ignorant of Him, the true root of his life, is his misery, to know Him is life and peace" (LIS, Vol.1, p.98); Cf. "There is something in you that says, 'What have I to do with Thee, Jesus, Thou Son of God?' But there is something in you which will call Him to help you and drive the devil back for you. Oh, my friends, that is your own true self" (SCC, p.221); "St Paul declares that it is the end of all God's acts and dispensations towards men, to make them righteous; to bring them out of that condition which they have chosen for themselves, - the condition of distrust, alienation, sin, - and to bring them into that state for which He has created them, of dependence, trust, union with Him. He is declared here as everywhere, to be the only Reconciler of His creatures. Here, as everywhere, they are assumed to have no righteousness but His; none but that which they obtain by owning Him and confiding in Him" (DS, p.192).
 22. Christmas Day, p.7; cf. "In (Christ) alone could He see humanity as He had formed it, with all its powers in full exercise, free and glorious - free and glorious, because entirely submissive to love; exercising dominion over all Nature, because surrendered to its true unseen Lord" (PB, p.258).
 23. "There is no meaning (in Christianity) if the principle of self-sacrifice be not at the root of it" (KC, Vol.2, p.68); cf. "That doctrine I hold, as our forefathers held it, to be the doctrine of the Bible, the doctrine of the Gospel. The Bible is, from first to last, setting forth to us the meaning of Sacrifice. If we cannot preach that that meaning has been accomplished, that the perfect Sacrifice has been made for the sins of the whole world, that God has made peace with us by the death of His Son, I do not see that we have any gospel from God to men" (DS, p.xliii); "Supposing His death to be a sacrifice, the only complete sacrifice ever offered, the entire surrender of the whole spirit and body to God; is not this, in the highest sense, Atonement?" (TE, p.126); "No sacrifice can be pleasing in the eyes of God which is not filial sacrifice, which does not consist in a cheerful trust in His Will and an entire readiness to do it". (The Sacrifices which we owe to God and His Church, p.11)
 24. "Sacrifice which manifests the mind of God - which proceeds from God, which accomplishes the purposes of God in the redemption and reconciliation of His creatures" (DS, p.xliv).
 25. UNT, p.404. "It was the act of giving himself up which showed what he was; that was the great witness of his filial relation to God, of his entire delight in his Father's will. That was the witness, at the same time, of his entire identification with those whom he had made his brethren upon earth, of his refusing to be in any wise separate from them in the worst condition into which the worst of them could come, of his refusal to have any life which he would not

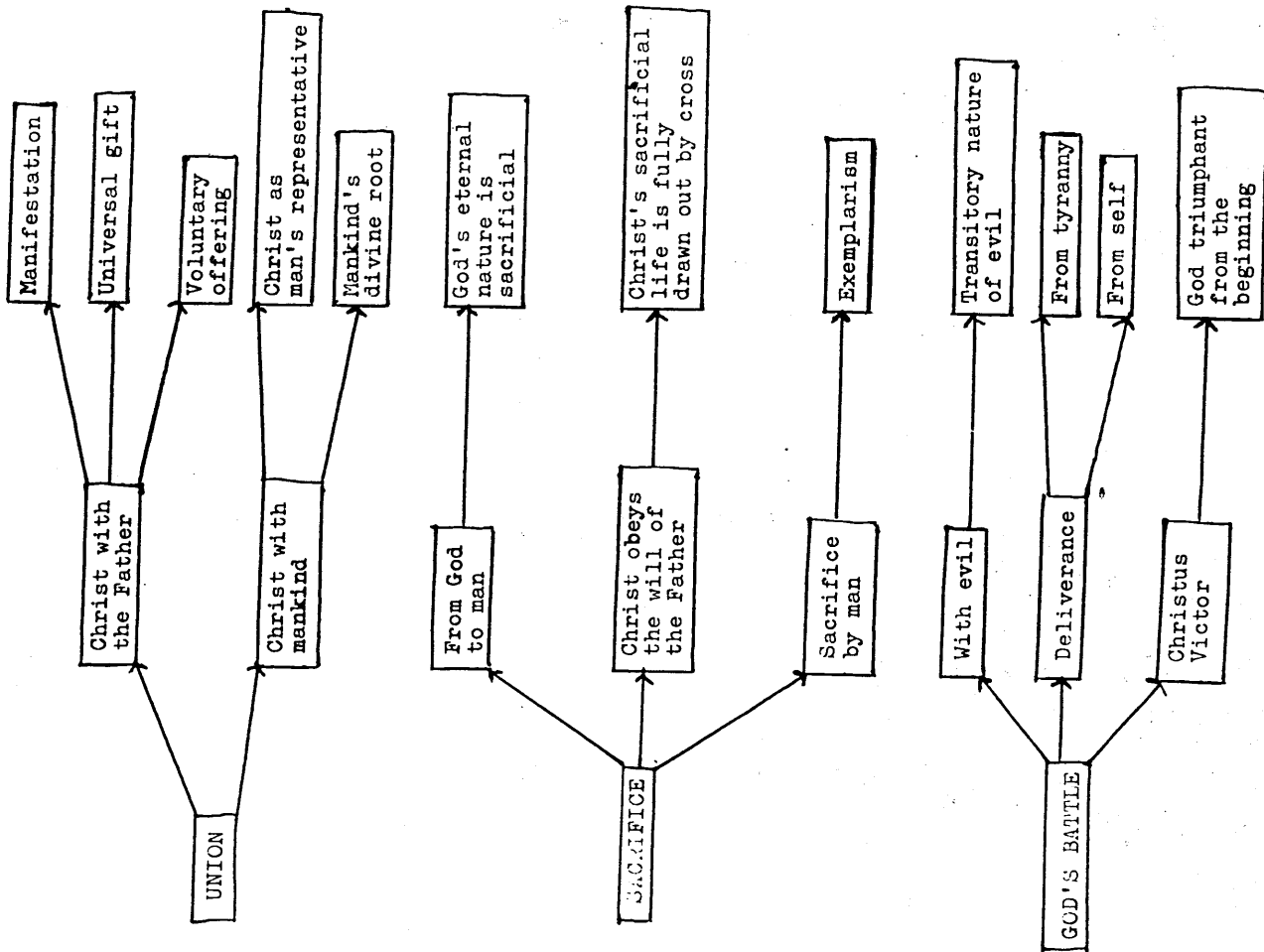
- communicate with them. Above all, it was the witness that everything which he had was his Father's, that he did nothing but what he saw his Father Do, that his love was only the image and reflection of his Father's love, that the Father was the originator even of that highest and most perfect sacrifice, with which alone he could be satisfied, in which alone he could accept all other sacrifices". (LIS, Vol.3, p.251).
26. GJ, p.426; cf. "So it is proved that obedience and sacrifice are the very conditions of truth and righteousness, that they belong to man who is made in God's likeness, because they are involved in the very character and being of God Himself" (DS, p.111). But God's sacrifice is not contingent upon the Fall: "The Fall is a fact in history, just as the Bible presents it to us; but it is not a fact from which we can dare to deduce the Law under which we are living and acting: for the Bible, in setting forth Christ as the Son of God and the Son of Man, as the Redeemer and Restorer of man to his union with His Father, and to all the spiritual freedom and prerogatives which that union implies, proclaims to us another Law" (DS, p.287).
 27. Maurice sees Christ's work as producing a moral change in man. He is thus in the tradition of Abelard, who believed that the supreme love which God in Christ displayed on the Cross sparks off a responding love in men's hearts.
 28. "That was the work which He came to do, and which He finished when He gave up the ghost. The perfect Son, by His obedience, had revealed the perfect Father; the Absolute Goodness had come forth in all the relations and sympathies of the man" (DS, p.218).
 29. This is to grossly over-simplify, yet Irenaeus did say Christ "became what we are to make us what He is" and Athanasius declares that "He became man in order to make us divine". Maurice's mind was deeply penetrated by the work of the Greek Fathers.
 30. DS, loc. cit.; cf. "Our Lord Jesus Christ is the one person who was never pleasing Himself. He was never thinking of Himself. He delighted to do His Father's will, and to finish His work....He was pleasing His Father in all that He did. He was not seeking His own pleasure in anything" (SCC, pp.223-224, and see also p.234).
 31. Christ's "voluntary oblation" is "the very root of all sacrifices, the consummation of all" (DS, p.105); cf. "Sacrifice has been a part of the institutions of every people under heaven; you know that every better impulse of your own spirits leads you to it, that every right act you have done has been a sacrifice" (DS, p.61); "The new world exists to testify to the atonement of God and His creatures, of their union and fellowship with each other, on the ground of the sacrifice He has made" (DS, p.210); "The grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ....supposes the establishment of sacrifice, as the bond between the Divine and human nature" (LA, p.364); "The Will therefore to all good - the Will manifested in Sacrifice - is the ultimate ground to which the Apostle (Paul) refers the fellowship of human society, the virtues of every man who is a member of it" (SM, p.234); "Individuals discover that all right-doing has its ground in sacrifice" (DS, p.111); "Self-sacrifice can never be regarded as an ambitious thing....it will be regarded as the true ground of all action....sacrifice cannot have this ennobling and mysterious power....if it is not contemplated as all flowing from the nature of God" (DS, pp.64-65); "I cannot conceive how a Church can maintain fellowship among its members, or produce any sound Christian morals, which does not put forth a Divine Sacrifice as at the root of all human life; as the spring of all human action" (LIS, Vol.2, p.26).
 32. DS, p.287; cf. "Christ comes to bring men into closer connexion with

- God, to endow them with the power of completely fulfilling His will, to make them complete viceregents in executing His purposes towards the world" (KC, Vol.2, p.283).
33. "Not a part of the message of the Kingdom of Heaven, but every part of it, concerns the struggle of the Son of Man with the Accuser, the Tempter, the Destroyer; concerns the deliverance of men from the physical and moral slavery which he has brought into God's universe" (KH, p.xxvi); "The belief in the existence and presence of an Evil Spirit (was) characteristic of the Gospels....in them the idea of a spirit directly and absolutely opposed to the Father of Lights....bursts upon us" (TE, p.38).
 34. The Goodness and Severity of God, (Cambridge, 1924), p.136.
 35. LIS, Vol.1, p.281; cf. "To myself this belief of a Redemption out of an usurper has been one of quite unspeakable comfort. I know that I have been ready to use the very language, in hours of conflict and oppression, which appears so unreasonable. 'Tyrant! thou hast been paid thy full price'" (Tracts for Priests and People, 1st series, No.III, p.26); "The world was oppressed; He was its Deliverer. The word was anarchical; He was its King. The world was divided; He was the Reconciler" (CAF, p.124); "Among the civilised it is otherwise. They are inclined to regard the devil as a fiction of the nursery; it is the shadow of a name which cannot be banished from conversation, nor quite from the thoughts, but it means nothing. Yet something steals over these refined people which they know not exactly how to describe" (LIS, Vol.1, pp.288 and 289); "When we say Christ is our Saviour, or our Redeemer, we mean that He has died and risen again to deliver our bodies from their slavery as well as our spirits. Our spirits have fallen under the power of sin; our bodies have fallen under the power of death. Christ, our true king, has shown that He is mightier than both; that He is the Deliverer from both" (SCC, p.346); "Thanks be to Him for giving us the victory, not over death only, but over him who had the power of death", (DS, p.240); "Death changed its nature when it passed upon Christ, and became a new birth" (Christmas Day, p.331); "While He was on earth He was freeing me from....plagues of rage and madness, and confusion" (SCC, p.32); "Christ give us His spirit that He may make us free, in spite of all our inclination to continue slaves of a cruel tyrant" (SCC, p.49); "Jesus our Lord and Christ has died to set us free from those dark shadows of the past, and from you our present seducers" (SCC, p.357); yet, "we are in that daily war which we have to wage with the powers of evil that are seeking to destroy the life of our country and our own" (War: How to prepare ourselves for it, p.12). Further research into the psychology of Maurice would be needed before it could be maintained that what we have to do with here is the projection of personal needs onto an external backcloth of "reality".
 36. DS, p.239; cf. "God gave Him the victory, the perfect victory of spirit and soul and body" (LIS, Vol.3, p.276).
 37. J Priestley, The Doctrine of Philosophic Necessity Illustrated, London, 1782, p.123.
 38. The British and Irish Unitarian Almanac, and Annual Register, for the year 1848, p.28.
 39. J Martineau, Hours, Vol.1, p.74; cf. "God never departs....from his devotion to the laws of goodness" (Martineau, Studies of Christianity, p.187).
 40. J H Thom, A minister of God, p.63; cf. The "attraction of affinity there could not be, were there not divine possibilities secreted and a divine persuasion pleading in each soul" (J Martineau, Seat of

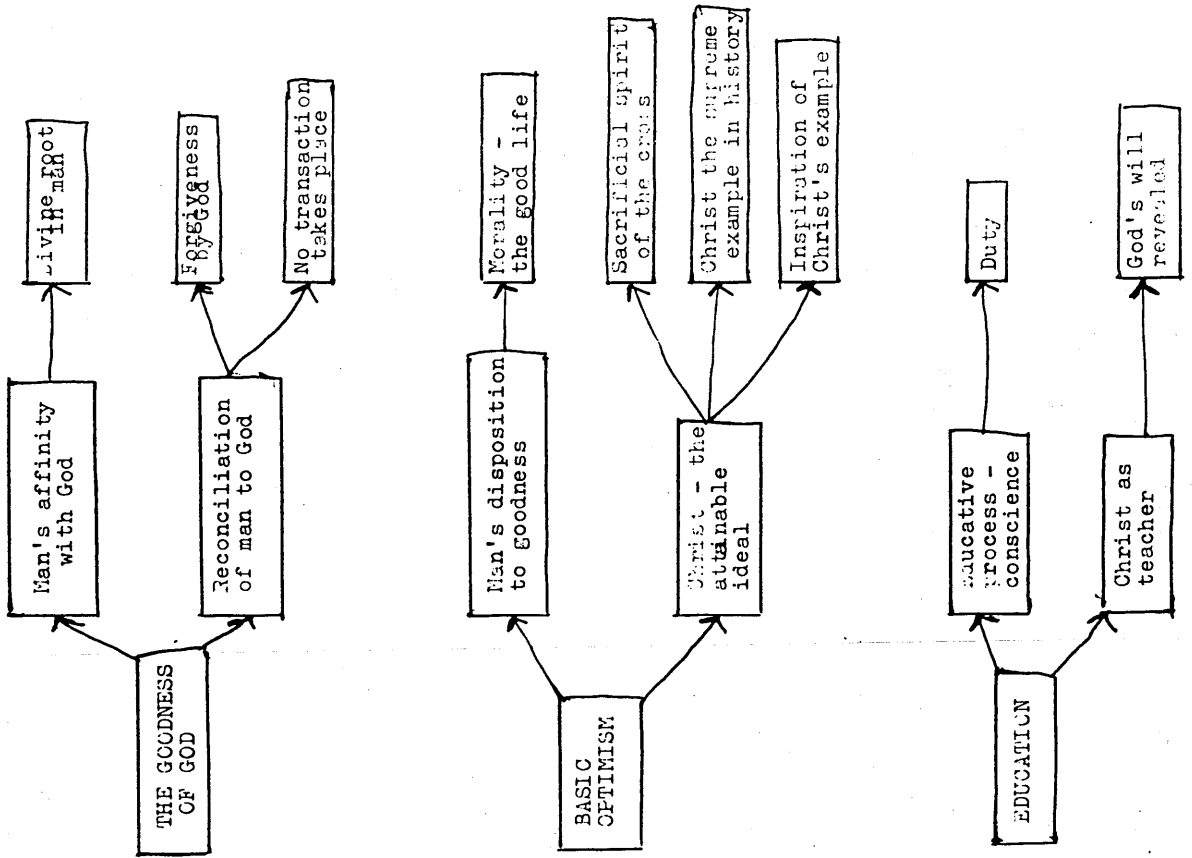
- Authority in Religion, London, 1890, p.449).
41. W Turner, in Unitarianism Exhibited, p.147; cf. "To remove the estrangement, it only needs that, on such invitation, we set our face the other way, and look to him with free response and trust; that we reflect him instead of darkening ourselves; that we let him show us our delusions as they really are; and, stripping away reserve and self-enclosure, pass into affectionate communion with him. The return of sympathy is the removal of ungenial separation; and he that is not separated is forgiven" (J Martineau, Hours, Vol.1, p.226).
 42. Unitarianism Exhibited, p.161.
 43. J Martineau, Studies of Christianity, p.80; cf. "We hold no such faith as that He could ever have laid the world under the ban of this Almighty curse, or that it could ever have been needful to purchase His favour by an infinite equivalent from His justice". (William Gaskell, The Injustice of Denying to Unitarians the Christian Name, Manchester, 1853, p.9).
 44. "We conceive that Jesus of Nazareth lived and died, not to persuade the Father, not to appease the Father, but simply to 'show us the Father'; to leave upon the human heart a new, deep, vivid impression of what God is in himself, and of what he designs for his creature, man; to become, in short, the accepted interpreter of heaven and life" (J Martineau, Studies of Christianity, p.193); cf. "If, in reconciling man with God, there is no vicarious sacrifice possible, so much the more remains over for self-sacrifice, as the only path of communion and peace. If you will have it that Christ is only human, so much the more Divine is your humanity to be" (ibid, p.412); "We need not pretend that he has 'saved' us from any hopeless fate; we were always safe enough in the hands of God" (Martineau, ND, p.345).
 45. M Maurice, John Bawn, pp.36 and 39.
 46. Unitarianism Exhibited, p.160.
 47. Martineau, Studies of Christianity, p.85.
 48. Martineau, Hours, Vol.2, p.367.
 49. "If you feel, as I confess I do, that Christ's is the purest embodiment the world has yet seen of a life in God, without which, feeble as its influence yet is, compared with its intrinsic worth, the world would be meaner and viler than it is - you cannot, I think, but find, in that simple fact of history, a ground for faith - for sympathy with and trust in Christ - which could not be strengthened (so I feel) by adding to it all the dogmas which Philo has infused into the Church" (Tayler's Letters, pp.90 and 91); cf. "We regard nothing as the essence of Christianity but the drawing of a man's heart to God through the attraction of His Image in His Son that to us every one is a Christian who desires to be a child of God after the likeness of Christ Jesus" (J H Thom, A minister of God, pp.150 and 151); "The unexampled spectacle of such 'grace and truth', of heavenly sanctity penetrating all human experiences, startles and wins hearts that never were so drawn before, and wakes in them a capacity for that which they reverence in one another" (Martineau, Seat of Authority in Religion, p.449). "God, the Father of humanity, has revealed Himself through Jesus Christ, a being strictly human in his nature, the saintly purity of whose life, the heroic sacrifice of whose death, we can all feel....man can only be reconciled to God by continual aspiration after the holy spirit of Jesus, aided by that divine influence which is shed upon the soul in answer to its earnest entreaties" (Christian Reformer, Vol.10, 1854, p.40).
 50. Solly, The Doctrine of the Atonement, p.155.
 51. Martineau, ND, p.336.

52. Op.cit., p.337.
53. Martineau, ERA, Vol.4, p.576.
54. "The condition of man is one of progress - one of training for ulterior and higher ends....that his better nature may be more fully developed" (George Armstrong, The simplicity of Goodness, p.7).
55. "We are called to be children of God: we are in ignorance of what that means - the man Jesus Christ was a perfect child of God" (J H Thom, A minister of God, p.38); cf. the spirit of Christ involved the "subjection of will and endeavour to the will of the everlasting Father" (J J Tayler, A Retrospect of the Religious Life of England, p.320).
56. Studies of Christianity, p.176.
57. DS, p.230.
58. Unitarianism Defended, p.5.
59. Studies of Christianity, p.193.
60. Seat of Authority in Religion, p.449.
61. KC, Vol.1, p.326.
62. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.1, p.349.
63. ERA, Vol.3, p.443.
64. Hours, Vol.2, p.70.
65. Laws of life after the mind of Christ, p.3.
66. Life, Vol.2, p.348.
67. Ibid, p.408.
68. Hours, Vol.2, p.166.
69. Studies of Christianity, p.193.
70. Ibid., p.194.
71. Ibid., p.143.
72. Hours, Vol.2, p.131.
73. SCC, p.239.
74. Hours, Vol.2, pp.122 and 130.
75. Ibid., p.67.
76. DS, p.307.
77. Seat of Authority in Religion, p.509.
78. The Divine Order, p.220.

FLOW CHART "A" - MAURICE ON ATONEMENT



FLOW CHART "B" - UNITARIAN POSITION ON ATONEMENT



IV. THE DIGNITY OF MAN

With its increased emphasis on the dignity and potential of man, Liberal Presbyterianism has been viewed as a late flowering of the Renaissance spirit. Man was now seen to be of the divine race, made by God for fellowship with Himself. The Unitarian's affirmation of Christ's humanity enhanced his view of mankind's potential. Since Jesus was human, it was possible for all men to achieve the consummate humanity of Christ, and Unitarians therefore adopted a thoroughly optimistic view of man. Further, having rejected doctrines of original sin and depravity, they had removed a weight from the shoulders of humanity and a far more generous view was possible. As Martineau put it, heaven and earth were entwined in man's spiritual nature, "a dignity most humbling yet august".¹ Effectively, Maurice did the same thing by concentrating on the universal love of God and taking attention away from human depravity. Maurice maintained that "there is not a man in the wide world who has not a holy thing in him to which we can speak....because Christ is the Head of every man".² General rather than particular grace made each man God's child, and now, in the view of Maurice and the Unitarians, the child has it in him to become a partaker of the divine. For Maurice as for the Unitarians, education was vital since it enabled man, with his reasoning faculty, to realise his potential. Brought up in a Unitarian household, with a father deeply committed to facilitating the development of the poorest children in the neighbourhood, Maurice's own views on the dignity of man were well established before he set them within his own unique theological framework. His high doctrine of man-in-Christ was one of his greatest contributions to nineteenth century religious thought, especially important when espoused by his colleagues and successors in the Christian Socialist Movement. The principle features of Maurice's teaching, together with Unitarian views, are illustrated diagrammatically on page 226.

The ground of Maurice's understanding about the nature of man depends on his belief in the union of the Father and the Son and the creation of the world in Christ.³ The true standard of humanity is that of Jesus Christ. The incarnation and the sacrifice of Christ offer a full revelation of the nature of man and God.⁴ Christ is the original man, "the one Man in whom all men may feel and realise their own glory".⁵ Maurice maintains that "the proper constitution of man is his constitution in Christ".⁶ He is created in Christ and God is united with man in the person of Christ.⁷ God sees man only in Christ.⁸ We do not, says Maurice, measure humanity by a crooked line but by the straight line which is Christ:

"We must be shown what we are as he has constituted us in his Son⁹ before we learn what we are when we revolt from his constitution".⁹

Thus man has his root in Christ and not in Adam.¹⁰ Man has not an Adam nature but a Christ nature for there is a divine root for humanity.¹¹ This relationship of mankind in Christ and the whole with the Father always existed and was revealed in its fullness when Christ became man.¹²

Maurice refused absolutely to make the depravity of the human race his starting point. The Evangelicals seemed

"To make sin the ground of all theology, whereas it seems to me that the living and holy God is the ground of it, and sin the departure from the state of union with Him, into which He has brought us".¹³

The gospel discards the view that "pravity is the law of our being".¹⁴ Maurice opposed the efforts of some religious people who tried to make children feel their sin so that they might the more appreciate God's mercy. He could not but "think that such a method has produced, and must produce, premature self-consciousness, then hypocrisy, then infidelity or despair".¹⁵ Maurice's own approach to children was quite different. He might find a child

"very naughty, disagreeable, ill-behaved; well, I am tempted to dislike or despise the child; I must dislike or despise it if I think only of the child's naughtiness, disagreeableness, ill-behaviour. I cannot help it. But that is not the child. That is what disfigures the child; that is what makes it different from what it is meant to be. That child - every child on this earth has a true life in it, as well as this bad nature which leads it to show forth bad tempers and do bad things. This true life is what our Lord calls the child's angel".¹⁶

Maurice then would not let sin usurp what he saw as the truth about God and humanity, though he had no delusions about sin and he certainly did not believe in any kind of inevitable human progress towards good.¹⁷ Sin was a refusal to acknowledge our true relationship to God in Christ as adopted sons. It was an attempt to live apart, and separation was "the very essence of sin".¹⁸ But what he was determined to assert, because he found it in the gospel, was that the life of man "is not vanity, for it is derived from the life of Son of God".¹⁹ Our true nature is that of Christ who "never asserted independence as Adam did, as each one of us is continually doing".²⁰

Nevertheless, personal righteousness was not imparted to man by the law of his creation: it is the gracious gift of God. His nature is good in principle but only because of his creation in Christ. This essential goodness comes about in practice through man's declaration of utter dependence on God, a declaration about himself that in fact he has no righteousness.²¹ Man needed a revelation from God to tell him about the original righteousness from which original sin had been a departure, for it was necessary to understand good first before being able to comprehend evil.²² Maurice believed that man was made in the image of God but his understanding of this was that we see the image by looking at Christ.²³ The image is not to be seen in each separate man. "It is not the separate man who is the image of God; it is man as a kind, it is the individual man so far as he is the member of a kind".²⁴ Maurice stresses throughout

that man's original righteousness reposes in the fact of his creation in Christ, the true human condition:

"Christ is in every man, the source of all light that ever visits him, the root of all the righteous thoughts and acts that he is ever able to conceive or do".²⁵

To understand God's intention in creating mankind it is necessary to look at Christ, the original pattern, for Christ is "the deep root of all the humanity which is or ever has been in the earth".²⁶ Maurice's anthropology is derived from and based on his Christology, for Christ's Sonship "is the type and ground of the relation in which the human stands to the divine".²⁷ Only in that image can man know God or know himself and "apart from Him we have an animal birth and an animal death".²⁸

Man never ceases to be a child of God, says Maurice. No matter how much he is aware of the sin around him and within him, he discovers deep inside himself something that is truer and more real than the sin. John the Baptist spoke of that sin which "stuck close to each man, but it was not himself".²⁹ Sin could seem as if it were part of a man almost as if it were the man himself, but his righteousness belonged to him still more entirely.³⁰ Each man has this sense of righteousness whether he acknowledges it or not.³¹ St Paul had gone down into the depths of himself and had found rottenness, corruption, darkness and evil,

"but he discovered that there was a root below himself, a true divine root, for himself and every man. He found that each man, when he tries to contemplate himself apart from Christ, is that evil creature in which no good thing dwells. But no man, so he teaches, has a right to contemplate himself apart from Christ; God does not so contemplate him. He was formed at first in the Divine Word; in Him he lives and has his being still".³²

In his own unique way, Maurice has, without for one moment neglecting the possibilities of sin, greatly increased the significance of man. He has been able to do this because he sees man only in Christ, the consummating whole of humanity.

Unitarian teaching

In the Unitarian view man was basically good and they objected consistently against the doctrine of original sin and the fall. "We cannot conceive that there is any sin in being born", declared Richard Aspland.³³ Similarly William Fox: "We think that the human character is of a diversified cast, the best being not without numerous failings, and the most depraved sometimes manifesting that 'the law of God written on the heart' cannot be wholly obliterated".³⁴ James Martineau in a christening address declared that "unless there is some sin in being born, this child is given, a pure and unspoiled nature, into your hand".³⁵ Martineau believed that each man has the "two-fold filiation which has been falsely fixed on (Christ) alone".³⁶ It was the most humane man or woman who was truest to the image of Christ.³⁷ Solly reports a conversation with Maurice which, if it is accurately recorded, is very much in line with Martineau's theory. Solly asked Maurice whether he regarded our Lord "'as the Archetypal man, God's ideal of humanity from all eternity and mankind as moulded on that pattern, imperfectly at first, but destined to be gradually perfected in His likeness?' 'Just so', he answered, and I was more than thankful to find as our interview closed that a conviction which had so completely removed all my difficulties on this great theme was entirely in accordance with the views of one to whom I looked up with such profound respect and gratitude".³⁸

The Unitarians argued that an all-good God would create a basically good mankind, for there was a potential divineness in man, and an affinity with the original perfection which dispelled the illusion of man's littleness.³⁹ Christ addressed men "as to a portion of the holy spirit latent within them".⁴⁰

Maurice valued the criticisms of Unitarians

"against some of the phrases and opinions respecting human nature and human corruption, into which our popular religious teachers have fallen. They maintained stoutly that ordinary men do ⁴¹good acts, and we have no business to call such acts splendid sins".

The Unitarians, through maintaining the humanity of Jesus, greatly increased the significance of man. Jesus was ideal man and yet each human being had the capacity to be like Him, for man enjoyed a unique relationship with God as the pinnacle of His creation. God mingled His spirit with human life,⁴² and there was a "coalescence of the Divine Nature...with what we know to be the highest elements of our own".⁴³ The Unitarians emphasised the presence of God in man, a theme which had been largely ignored by mainstream Christian teachers.⁴⁴ Maurice's exaltation of man-in-Christ⁴⁵ and the Unitarian regard for Jesus as "the divinest life that ever took the form of humanity"⁴⁶ led to remarkably similar conclusions about the potential of the human race. On the surface, the principle difference between them is that for the Unitarians there was a natural development towards the ideal seen in Christ, whereas for Maurice it was not the gift of nature but God's specific act of graciousness. Nonetheless, as Maurice saw the whole of humanity rooted in Christ, it could be argued that this was just as natural, since it was the normal condition for all men. Unitarian views about God's benevolence towards His creation inevitably led Unitarians to their universalist eschatology. Maurice was to find himself drawn in the same direction, as the following outline of his teaching on eternal life will indicate.

NOTES

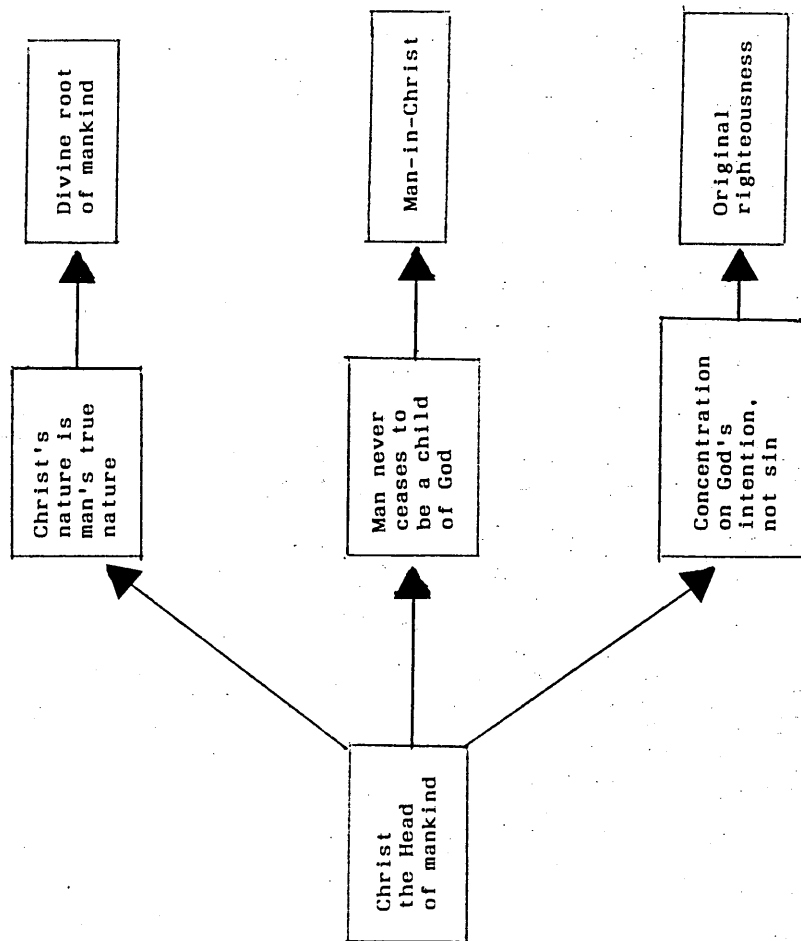
1. J Martineau, Endeavours, p.312. The witness of the American Unitarian W E Channing is worth noting. Martineau wrote: "The keynote to the whole of Dr Channing's character and convictions is found in his sense of the inherent greatness of man....It was....a fundamental point of faith" (ERA, Vol.1, p.103).
2. LIS, Vol.1, p.228.
3. CGE, p.170.
4. DS, p.287.
5. PL, p.327. But "it is not the separate man who is in the image of God; it is man as a kind, it is the individual man so far as he is the member of the kind". (LIS, Vol.2, p.52).
6. CAF, p.46; cf. "In Him they are constituted by God's eternal law.... apart from Him they have no life at all" (LIS, Vol.1, p.7).
7. PL, p.66.
8. GJ, p.500.
9. FL, p.28.
10. Life, Vol.2, p.358.
11. Life, Vol.1, p.155; cf. "There is a selfish evil nature in every man, let him call himself Churchman or man of the world, believer or unbeliever, which cannot bring forth good fruit - which is utterly damnable; and....there is a Divine root of humanity, a Son of Man, whence all the good in Churchman or man of the world, in believer or unbeliever, springs" (KH, pp.124-125). Agreeing with him that man's life is a conflict between pure feelings and sensual desires, a Unitarian reviewer thought that Maurice meant no more than "to declare that there is an Adam and a Christ within each of us - taking the first as the type of our sensual nature, and the second as the type of our spiritual nature; in which case it is needless to say we agree with him; but there is nothing in this which requires us to depart from the doctrine of Christ's simple humanity" (Christian Reformer, Vol.10 [1854], p.38).
12. PB, p.378.
13. Life, Vol.1, p.450.
14. TE, p.39; cf. "Romish and Protestant divines, differing in the upshot of their schemes, have yet agreed in the construction of them. The Fall of Man is commonly regarded by both as the foundation of Theology - the Incarnation and Death of our Lord as provisions against the effects of it. Now St Paul speaks of the Mystery of Christ as the ground of all things in Heaven and Earth, the History as the gradual discovery or revelation of this ground. Such a view, I think, at once presents itself to us as the most reasonable and satisfactory" (PB, pp.118-119). Whichcote, a leading Cambridge Platonist, made the point succinctly: "Man, as Man, is Averse to what is Evil and Wicked; for Evil is unnatural, and Good is connatural, to Man" (quoted in Patrides, op.cit., p.326).
15. CAF, p.65.
16. SCC, p.240.
17. LIS, Vol.1, p.289.
18. EJ, p.110.
19. LIS, Vol.3, p.90.
20. Life, Vol.2, p.408; cf. "Original righteousness stands, and has always stood, in Christ the Son of God, and in Him only....I could believe that the Head of Man had entered fully into the condition of every man; had suffered the temptations of every man; had wrestled

- with the enemy of every man; and that he had brought our humanity untainted and perfect through that struggle. And this because he had never lost his trust in his Father, his obedience to his Father, had never asserted independence, as Adam did, as each one of us is continually doing" (Tracts, pp.65-66).
21. "The purity or innocence of any human creature is not and cannot be his own; but we are only innocent so far as we claim nothing of our own, so far as we look out of ourselves, so far as we forget ourselves in another. Whether we approve of this language or not, whether we call it mystical or not, we all testify to the truth of it. That reverence or unconsciouness, that almost worship of childhood, is nothing else than a silent homage to this doctrine.... The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper witnesses that the sin-stricken man who has discerned that he never had, and never can have, anything righteous in himself, may become altogether childlike and spotless when he turns from himself, and seeks for fellowship with Him in Whom is no sin" (LIS, Vol.1, pp.81, 84-85).
 22. FL, p.39.
 23. PL, p.53; cf. "Men are told that they are made in the image of God: how it could be they knew not. Here (in Christ) is His express image, not shown in the heavens above, nor in the earth beneath, but in a man....In Him we find how humanity has been a holy thing, though each man felt himself to be unholy" (EH, p.29).
 24. LIS, Vol.2, p.51; cf. "God tells us that He made Man in His own image; not a few particular men who are different from their kind, but the kind itself" (PL, p.323).
 25. TE, pp.55-56.
 26. LIS, Vol.2, p.215.
 27. KC, Vol.2, p.271.
 28. LIS, Vol.1, p.116.
 29. CAF, p.35.
 30. TE, p.50.
 31. Ibid., p.53.
 32. LIS, Vol.1, pp.97-98; cf. Martineau's view that "we have to tell the human soul what secretly it knows but faithlessly it hides away" (ERA, Vol.4, p.542). Maurice and Martineau share the idea that the preacher's task is to uncover and explain to men the truth concerning their true nature.
 33. R Aspland, The Unitarian's Creed.
 34. W Fox, The Comparative Tendency of Unitarianism and Calvinism to promote love to God and love to man.
 35. J Martineau, ND, p.358.
 36. J Martineau, ERA, Vol.4, p.544; cf. "This conscious union with God, as it is the essence of Christ's power, has to be reproduced in every one who conveys that power to other souls, or sustains it in them" (ND, p.387).
 37. ND, p.356.
 38. Solly, Autobiography, Vol.2, pp.107-8.
 39. J Martineau, ERA, Vol.4, p.577. As Rowell has pointed out (op.cit., p.53), there is here a concern for sanctification characteristic of Tractarians and Evangelicals, but the Unitarians claim it not for the few, but for all. Maurice agreed with their point of view, rather than with the narrow approach of fellow Anglicans.
 40. ND, p.134.
 41. TE, p.59.

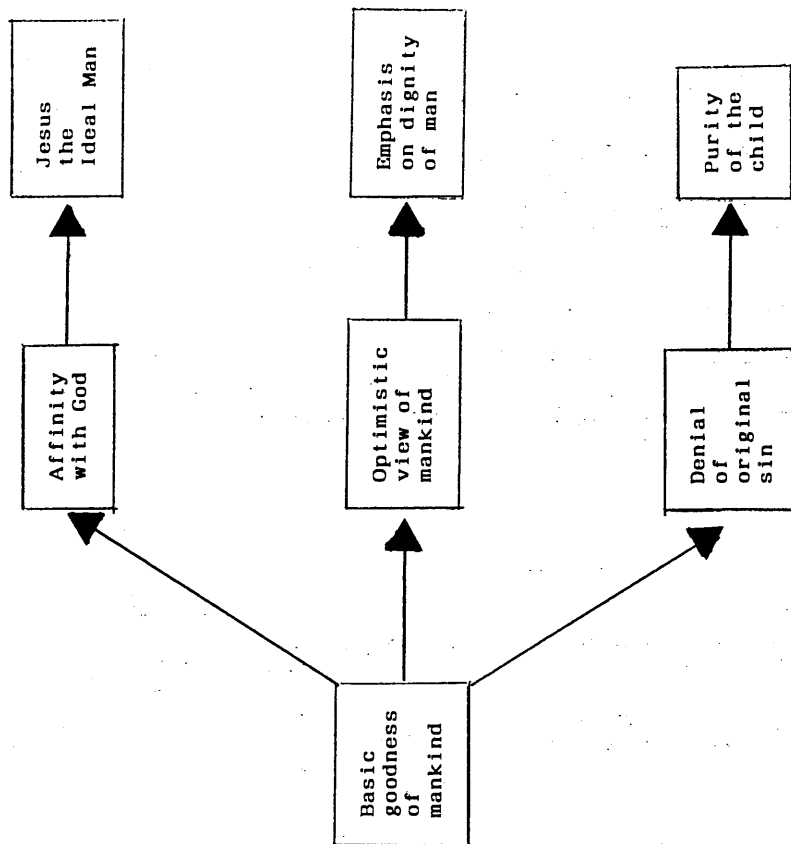
42. J Martineau, Hours, Vol.2, p.100. A comparison with the Danish theologian Grundtvig is worth noting: "Man is of God's race, made by God's power to resemble God, a child in creation, full-grown in salvation" (quoted in A M Allchin, The Kingdom of Love and Knowledge, London, 1979, p.77).
43. Hours, Vol.2, p.22.
44. With the notable exception of the Cambridge Platonists, see Patrides, op.cit., pp.19ff.
45. The Gospel proclaims "the glory of humanity" louder "than any philosophical system ever did" (LIS, Vol.2, p.179)
46. Hours, Vol.1, p.203.

DIGNITY OF MAN

POSITION OF F D MAURICE



POSITION OF UNITARIANS



V. ETERNAL LIFE

The contribution of Arians, Socinians and Unitarians to the eschatological debates of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries has been surveyed by Walker and Rowell.¹ In the opinion of Rowell, Unitarian eschatology "must be recognized as a powerful influence on that of other denominations during the nineteenth century". F D Maurice is the outstanding example of this dependence, and drew extensively on his Unitarian heritage.²

The words 'eternal' or 'eternity' form a key concept in Maurice's understanding of the gospel.³ The word 'eternal' has always to be considered with reference to God. Eternal life is found only in God and is descriptive of God's very being.⁴ Eternity expresses a permanent fixed state and has to do with completeness rather than progress, and is better expressed by a circle than by a line.⁵ "Eternity....is not subject to Time, or merely a negation of Time", but is generically different from time.⁶ God's eternal world is the foundation of and the backcloth to the temporal order, but man finds it a constant struggle to maintain the union of time with eternity.⁷ The opinion of Maurice's principal Anglican critic, H L Mansel, was that it was not simply a struggle but quite impossible given the nature of human understanding.⁸

Maurice emphasises the personal quality of eternal life, which is knowledge of and communion with God.⁹ Man is a spiritual being and belongs to the eternal order:

"My Life is the image of His Life. Therefore it is an eternal life. It did not begin at a certain time; it will not end at a certain time. And as you are partakers of my nature, you are intended to partake of this eternal life."¹⁰

Eternal life has nothing to do with time or duration and is a concept in which temporal categories have no place.¹¹ Eternal life does not mean everlasting life and eternal death does not mean everlasting/endless punishment.¹² Eternal life is fellowship with God.¹³ Moral evil is equivalent to eternal misery, since it involves self-imposed separation from God.¹⁴ Eternal life and eternal death are not to be thought of as future states,¹⁵ for they belong to man's present situation and to cast them forward in time is to empty them both of reality and power.¹⁶ Eternal life is something that man claims as "a solid possession for each moment".¹⁷ Somewhat naively, Maurice believed that ordinary people recognize eternal life as a great and present reality, not subject to temporal conditions,¹⁸ to whom the concept of billions of years is carnal and not spiritual.¹⁹

Maurice defines heaven as eternal life, that is, fellowship with God in Christ. Since eternity belongs exclusively to God, to know Him is to possess eternal life.²⁰ "To dwell in (Christ) must be eternal life; to be separated from (Christ) must be eternal death".²¹ Heaven/eternal life is a state of being, not a place.²² Heaven and hell confront man at every moment of his life, with earth as the battlefield between the two.²³

Maurice criticised contemporary religious teaching which presented heaven as a reward for good behaviour and endless punishment (hell) as the alternative.²⁴ This view made men hate punishment instead of sin and effectively placed selfishness at the core of human endeavour.²⁵ Punishment was in fact good, because it was God's "instrument for persuading men to turn from sin to righteousness".²⁶ God was always at work trying to save men from eternal death and this work continued after

death. The unutterable horror was being left alone. Thus, not being punished meant eternal death, since it implied God had withdrawn His interest in man.²⁷ Maurice was not prepared to say that those who die impenitent are lost for ever, but he was hopeful.²⁸ He denied vehemently that he was a Universalist.²⁹ His vision was of a final restoration of all things in Christ, the consummation of humanity in relationship with the Creator. Though his teaching about the depths of God's love brought him to the brink of Universalism, he steadfastly maintained that eternal loss was a real possibility.³⁰ Nevertheless so far as his Unitarian critics were concerned Maurice was a Universalist. "He can rest in no faith short of universal salvation. His heart of tenderness is too much for his logic; he struggles manfully to persuade himself and us that he believes in an eternal hell - but in vain; it is too horrible, and he feels it".³¹ In Maurice's view a universal salvation was certainly conceivable, but, as Rowell reminds us, his distrust of systems held him back from a dogmatic affirmation of Universalism. He is prepared to say that he trusts that no sin is stronger than the Divine love, though at the same time he recognises the infinite possibilities of resistance to that love.

Unitarian Teaching

Arians such as John Locke, Isaac Newton, Samuel Clarke and William Whiston (who were all known to one another), disbelieved in eternal torment. Some of them were prepared to say this openly, but as the prevailing view was that society would collapse if the deterrent effect of belief in eternal torment was removed, most of them wrote on the subject anonymously and in some instances their views were known only posthumously.³² Locke maintained that the torments of the wicked after death would not be

everlasting. The just and faithful would be granted immortality, but sinners would lose immortality and be excluded from paradise. Whiston claimed that Newton and Clarke shared his own view "against the proper eternity of the torments of hell".³³ Whiston himself was passionately opposed to the doctrine of eternal torment and proposed, as an alternative, that at death, all souls would go to Hades where they would have an opportunity to repent before the resurrection and the last judgment. After judgment, the just would go to a long (though not eternal) life of bliss, while the unrepentant wicked would go to a place of torment. The length of this would be proportionate to their sins and would conclude with their annihilation.³⁴ Annihilation was not a novel view. Some Socinians believed that the wicked would be annihilated after a period of suffering; others believed that annihilation of the wicked would occur immediately at death. The seventeenth-century Socinians John Biddle and Samuel Richardson both disbelieved in eternal torment and were convinced that the wicked would be annihilated.

David Hartley (not himself a Unitarian) exerted a strong influence on Joseph Priestley and subsequent Unitarian thinkers. Hartley postulated an essentially optimistic view of man's future, limiting punishment after death and concluding with universal salvation, since man's ultimate destiny, arising from the goodness of God, was happiness. In the meantime, justice demanded that the death of the wicked should be followed by their punishment for a limited period. Hartley's influence lasted well into the nineteenth century, so that among many Unitarians the idea of some form of purification or reform following the day of judgment was strong.³⁵ Priestley himself eventually became a Universalist, a position strongly linked with political hopes. "Confidence in the possibility of

human progress towards a more perfect society was joined to the hope of a perfect resurrection life after death", Rowell maintains.³⁶ Thus, a conference at the Gravel Pit Chapel, Hackney, in January, 1807, was led by the minister, Robert Aspland, on the question of whether scripture favoured a "Future Universal Restoration"; four speakers were for universal restoration and only one against.³⁷

The Unitarian minister/schoolmaster Lant Carpenter, a Bristol neighbour and friend of Michael Maurice, specifically rejected the idea of everlasting punishment in 1820. He felt that the fundamental view which Unitarians held about God's goodness "lead to the belief, that there will be a time when all the rational creatures of God will have been purified from every pollution, and made fit for holiness". Probation could continue after death; it would be remedial, not retributive.³⁸

Carpenter's views were not untypical of the Unitarian position during the early decades of the century. The principal features of Unitarian eschatology developed out of their vital doctrine of God's benevolence. Michael Maurice taught that God "would have all men come to the knowledge of the truth and enjoy eternal life".³⁹ There was a strong element of Christian discipleship in his belief that "the blessings of the heavenly mansions....would be bestowed on all those who showed willingness in taking up the Cross".⁴⁰ His friend Edmund Kell believed that mankind would be judged "according to our works; and 'they who have sown to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; they who have sown to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting'".⁴¹ In general, Unitarian preaching during the first half of the century did not concern itself overmuch with the details of life after death. "It was enough to believe in the immortality of the soul and that an all-loving God would

eventually admit all souls to heaven", writes a modern scholar.⁴² F D Maurice's experience seems to confirm this broad impression. "I was brought up in the belief of universal restitution; I was taught that the idea of eternal punishment could not consist with the goodness and mercy of God".⁴³ Elsewhere, he refers to hearing

"among the Unitarians of a future restitution for all mankind. I never could take in their words. They sounded pleasant, but they contradicted all that I saw of the condition of the world; all that I felt of the evil in myself".⁴⁴

A decade before Maurice made his contribution to the debate on eternal life in his Theological Essays, Martineau's sermons had outlined a not entirely dissimilar position. Like Maurice, he emphasised the personal relationship of each human soul with God, and would not admit the limitations of space or time. He could find no "speculative impossibility" about the doctrine of the soul's immortality, for there was nothing in the nature of the properties of the thinking principle to suggest that they were of limited duration or capable of decay. There was simply no evidence for non-existence.⁴⁵ Echoing the earlier Unitarian emphasis on the benevolence of God, he argued that it was inconsistent with the character of the Deity to allow the fall of the body to be the fall of the soul. To argue otherwise turned the creator into the destroyer - every good man might feel more pity, "diviner far than the very providence of heaven".⁴⁶ A sermon preached some years later argued a progressive view of the soul's destiny. It belonged to the essence of a future life "that it shall have a judicial character transcending and completing the present, and containing what would not ensue, but for the intervention of death".⁴⁷ A broad understanding of purgatory thus replaced a bare and (to the Unitarian mind) unacceptable doctrine of hell. Moral seriousness demanded satisfaction for the grieved justice of God. There was nothing at variance with "the unswerving persistency of law" in

a retribution that was "intensified far beyond the limits of our present outward experience".⁴⁸ Martineau's teaching was fully worked out in his Study of Religion published in 1888 and therefore strictly outside our period. But it pursues Martineau's belief in the movement of humanity towards a moral and righteous end: "Wherever Conscience is, there we stand only in the forecourt of our existence; and a Moral world cannot be final, unless it be everlasting".⁴⁹

Conclusion

It is clear that Unitarians and Maurice both pose a question drawn from their shared understanding of God's Fatherly character: what, they ask, must be His intention as to the ultimate destiny of His creation? Whatever that intention is, it is not possible for it to be inconsistent with the generosity of His love revealed in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus.⁵⁰ In reaching some solution to the question, Unitarians and Maurice both react against any form of predestination derived from Calvinist teaching; both reflect a contemporary concern as to the gradual reformation of mankind, associated with Bentham and the Utilitarians; and both inherited a tradition of some kind of development after death which can be found in the Cambridge Platonist school, notably Henry More.

Early Unitarians argued for the annihilation of the wicked, either immediately at death, or following a period of punishment, but they could not accept the idea of unending torment. Maurice and his Unitarian contemporaries maintained that there would be development after death towards a deepening of the soul's relationship with God. Thus, Maurice lined up with Unitarians to oppose the generally held view that those who

did not accept God's salvation during this life were irretrievably lost. In arguing for the effect after death of God's loving persuasiveness, Maurice was open to the criticism that he taught that impenitent sinners would ultimately be saved, though he was more concerned to say that because of His love, God does not give up easily. Evangelicals and Tractarians united to castigate him, taking their stand on church tradition and the word of scripture, and resisting the slightest breath of Latitudinarianism. The Scottish Presbyterian R. S. Candlish examined the Theological Essays in a series of lectures at Exeter Hall and accused Maurice of denying both resurrection and judgment, charges which Maurice rigorously denied in his preface to the Doctrine of Sacrifice.⁵¹ He was denounced for the Theological Essays in the pages of The Record and The Christian Observer, but The Nonconformist and The Guardian treated him with "kindness" and "generosity".⁵² The Record went so far as to quote Socinus as one of Maurice's sources,⁵³ and linking his name with those of Francis Newman and Thomas Erskine accused him of peddling Unitarian ideas.⁵⁴ The Morning Advertiser declared that Maurice was "poisoning the minds of students with the destructive principles of Universalism".⁵⁵

Only the Unitarian press gave positive support. The Prospective Review spoke of the "desperate efforts" which Maurice was making to conciliate to his "own favourite system of thought, affirmations which are not only foreign to it, but which wage internecine war with his most treasured faith".⁵⁶ A contemporary leader in the Unitarian journal The Inquirer (probably by Richard Hutton) noted that Maurice had utterly laid to heart "the infinite love of God" and had raised a noble protest against popular theology.⁵⁷ Solly, who considered the doctrine of "eternal torments" to be "horrible and unscriptural" almost rejoiced that Maurice had been

relieved of the duty of teaching in that "exclusive and bigoted seat of learning".⁵⁸ Even at Cambridge, to the astonishment of Hort, most men thought that Maurice had invented the distinction between time and eternity, though Hort himself considered Maurice's position accorded with "the spirit of the Fathers of all schools".⁵⁹ Hare rightly noted that Maurice's dismissal from King's College would be regarded by Unitarians as proof that the Church's teaching must be "repugnant to the reason and conscience of mankind", though he knew that Maurice's purpose was to reconcile "the reason and conscience of the thoughtful men of our age to the faith of our Church".⁶⁰

Neither Hare nor Maurice were suggesting that the Church's faith was offensive to reason and conscience, nor that in some 'modernist' way traditional doctrines should be critically reviewed in the light of current knowledge to make them acceptable to the educated mid-Victorian. Maurice's point is that the presentation of the faith has been at fault and reasonable men have rightly rejected it. So long as the revelation in Christ of the ways of a loving God remained the principle ingredient of Maurice's teaching, he inevitably slid towards Universalism. Yet this too might prove as unacceptable to "thoughtful men" who could point to the stern warnings contained in the New Testament regarding future rewards and punishments. What, they might ask, did Maurice make of these passages? His answer that "every moment is a critical moment...that God's judgments are always proceeding"⁶¹ did not satisfy those whose commonsense minds were fixed on a final day of judgment for all. The serious weakness of Maurice's position (as J B Mozley and A M Ramsey point out) is that he casts his teaching on life and death in exclusively Johannine/Platonist terms.⁶² This supported the central Maurice conviction that in the end

nothing can destroy the communion of the Creator with His creation. The truth in which all are called to share is that the Father is eternally united to mankind in His Son. Christ revealed this union of the Divine with mankind, and His body, the Church, existed to bear witness to that reality. With her sacraments and ministry, she was called upon to declare "that the spiritual and eternal kingdom which God has prepared for them that love Him, is about men now, and that they may enter into it".⁶³

NOTES

1. D P Walker, The Decline of Hell. Seventeenth-Century discussions of eternal torment (London, 1964); Rowell, op.cit. See especially pp.32-61 of Rowell on the contribution of Unitarians, and pp.76-89 on Maurice.
2. Rowell, op.cit., p.61.
3. "The word 'eternal'....is a key-word of the New Testament" (TE [1853] p.436). Cf. "Everything in the work of our ministry as well as in our interpretation of the New Testament, depends upon the force which we give to those continually recurring words 'eternal life'" (Life, Vol.2, p.520). Maurice notes that the translators of the Authorised Version unwittingly prepared the ground for (what he considered) an incorrect understanding of αἰώνιος by rendering the word variously 'eternal' or 'everlasting' (Life, Vol.2, p.18); TE (1853), p.435.
4. "I desire also to use the word eternal or everlasting in that sense in which I find it used in Scripture, in the creeds, and in the prayers of the Church, and in the devotions of good men, viz., as appertaining primarily and expressly to God, and therefore as distinct from and opposed to temporal" (Life, Vol.2, p.370, Maurice's italics); cf. "Whenever the word Eternal is used, then, in the New Testament, it ought first, by all rules of reason, to be considered in reference to God. Its use when it is applied to Him must determine all its other uses. There must be no shrinking from this rule, no efforts to evade the force of it; for this is what we agreed to condemn in the Unitarians and Universalists of the last age, that they changed the force of the adjective at their pleasure, so that it might not mean the same in reference to punishment as to life" (TE, p.381, Maurice's italics).
5. "Like our own word 'period' it (αἰών) does not convey so much the impression of a line as of a circle. It does not suggest perpetual progress, but fixedness and completeness" (The Word 'Eternal', p.6).
6. TE, p.366; cf. "Eternity....is not subject to Time, or merely a negation of Time" (The Word 'Eternal', p.7).
7. "I maintain that time and eternity co-exist here. The difficulty is to recognise the eternal state under our temporal conditions, not to lose eternity in time" (Life, Vol.2, p.219); cf. "It is the great struggle of every time to realise the union of the spiritual and eternal with the manifestation of it in time; now the first is forgotten for the second, now the second in the first - each perishes by the loss of the other, but in one time the difficulty is greater on this side, in another on that. We must have the eternal which our fathers nearly forgot" (Life, Vol.2, p.264).
8. H L Mansel, Man's conception of eternity: an examination of Mr Maurice's theory of a fixed state out of time. (Oxford, 1854), p.21, discussed in Rowell, op.cit., pp.85-86.
9. "I take the words aeterna vita, not as they are explained by any Doctor of the Church, by any council, provincial or oecumenical, but as they are explained by our Lord Himself in His last awful prayer, 'This is life eternal, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ'" (Life, Vol.1, p.397); cf. "Supposing Righteousness, Truth, Love, were such eternal things into which a man may enter, with which he may have fellowship, which he may apprehend more and more day by day, but which in themselves

- unchangeable - St John's words would be intelligible, and they would indeed be a gospel to mankind: 'Righteousness, Truth, Love are the very life of God, of Him who was, and is, and is to come. His Son, who is one with them, has manifested this Eternal Life to us. His acts done in those few years reveal to us His Father, who in Him is our Father. He invites us to partake of that life, to enter into it, to show it forth'" (Life, Vol.2, p.472).
10. EJ, p.28; cf. the very end of God's Revelations is to show man "that other world to which he belongs, of which he thinks he is an inheritor, but which seems full of indistinct phantoms" (LIS, Vol.4, p.212); "For the man really to enter into the knowledge and communion of God, to be able to pass out of the fetters and limitations of mortality into this blessedness, this eternal life, must be the consummation of all that Jesus came to do". (GJ, p.370).
 11. "If it is right, if it is a duty to say that Eternity in relation to God has nothing to do with time or duration, are we not bound to say that also in reference to life or to punishment it has nothing to do with time or duration?" (TE, p.384).
 12. Thus the term 'lost soul' and the expression 'spiritual death' "intimates that a spiritual being, created for a certain state without which its faculties and existence are unintelligible and contradictory, has lost the possession or fruition of that state." (Life, Vol.2, p.415); cf. "I know no other language which will bring as strongly before our minds the principle which Scripture assumes, that death is not the departure of the breath out of the body, but the loss of the life which must be the eternal life of God" (Life, Vol.2, p.348).
 13. "Eternal life is the righteousness and truth and love of God which are manifested in Christ Jesus; manifested to men that they may be partakers of them, that they may have fellowship with the Father and with the Son" (TE, p.383).
 14. "Moral evil is the eternal misery from which they need to be delivered, the righteousness of God the good which they have to attain" (TE, p.389).
 15. "I seem ridiculous to all disciples of Jowett, a heretic and a wilful liar to all disciples of Pusey, when I insist that the word eternal must always bear that force which we give it when we connect it with God; and that an eternity which is merely future is a contradiction" (Life, Vol.2, p.481, Maurice's italics); cf. "The state of eternal life and eternal death is not one we can refer only to the future, or that we can in anywise identify with the future" (TE, p.405).
 16. "Throw that idea into the future, and you deprive it of all its reality, of all its power. I know what it means all too well while you let me connect it with my present and personal being with the pangs of conscience which I suffer now. It becomes a mere vague dream and shadow to me, when you project it into a distant world" (ibid).
 17. Life, Vol.2, p.242. Maurice is at pains to affirm that the gift of eternal life is constitutive of man's nature since he is created by God in Christ for fellowship with Himself. "The knowledge (of God) does not procure the life, but the knowledge constitutes the life" (TE, p.366); cf. "Eternal Life....is emphatically a present life (not according to a doctrine which I have listened to lately with astonishment, alike for its logic and theology - a future life begun in the present); and that this Eternal Life consists in the

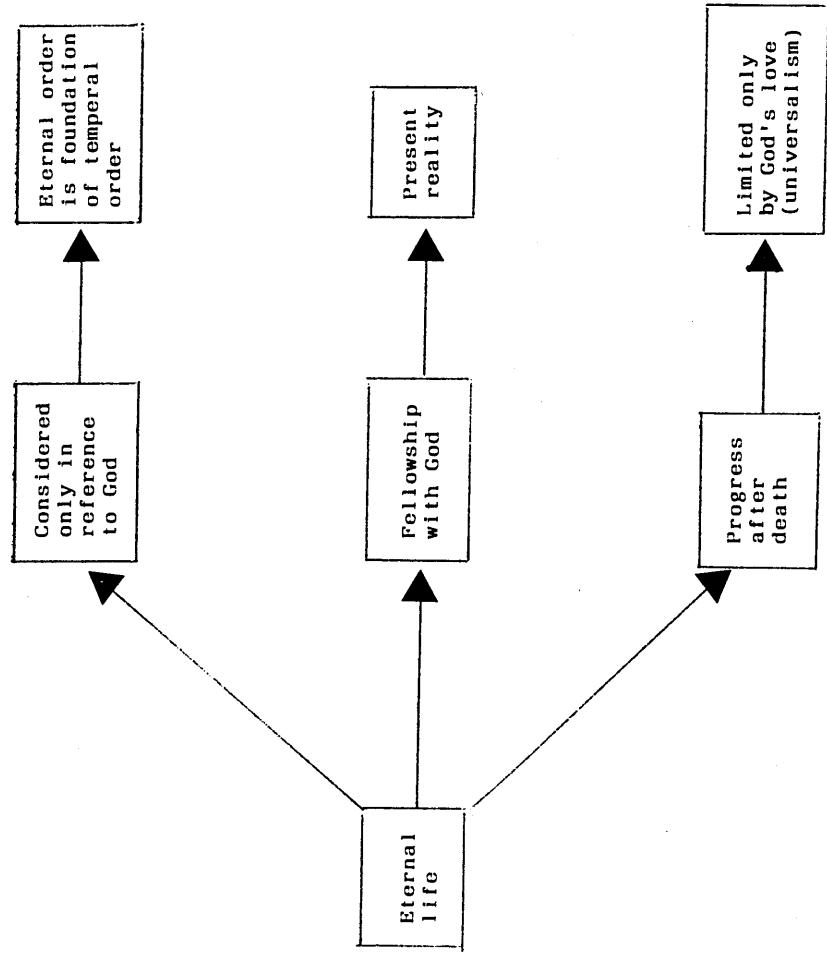
- knowledge of God" (TE, p.409, Maurice's italics).
18. TE, p.366; cf. Life, Vol.2, p.474.
 19. Life, Vol.2, p.21.
 20. "This is the eternal life, that which Christ has brought with Him, that which we have in Him, the knowledge of God" (TE, p.367).
 21. GJ, p.420.
 22. "(Christ)....is an eternity which we can contemplate. For in it is included the endurance and permanence of every person and thing that the Word has created and redeemed" (LIS, Vol.4, p.217); cf. "The kingdom of heaven....(is) the eternal kingdom of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. The kingdom of hell would then be the kingdom of evil, hatred, despair" (Contemporary Review XV, on 'The Athanasian Creed'). Martineau is reported to have taught that "heaven will always be a part of our religion, not a branch of our geography" (F P Cobbe, op.cit., Vol.2, p.50); cf. Benjamin Whichcote: "Heaven is first a Temper, and then a Place" (Patrides, op.cit., p.331).
 23. TE, p.391.
 24. "The opinion has been more and more growing among religious men that eternal life is the possession of certain rewards by certain individuals in a future state, and eternal damnation the punishment of certain individuals for ever and ever in a future state" (Life, Vol.2, p.393); cf. Life, Vol.1, p.398.
 25. TE, p.389; "The wretched notion of a private selfish Heaven, when compensation shall be made for troubles incurred, and prizes given for duties performed in this lower sphere....had infused itself into our popular teachings and our theological books" (KC, Vol.2, p.269)
 26. Life, Vol.2, p.470; cf. TE, p.403. The Unitarians were just as morally serious as Maurice, and they did not "believe in a weak or apathetic God....but (one) who punishes sin, because it is for the sinner's good; who sends stings to chasten and purify the transgressor's soul, who metes out reward and penalty with the strictest exactitude" (Christian Reformer, Vol.10 [1854], p.34).
 27. Maurice felt it his duty not to deny "God a right of using punishments at any time or anywhere for the reformation of His creatures" (Life, Vol.2, p.20), and there was no punishment so great "as His saying 'Let them alone'" (ibid.); cf. TE (1853), p.439.
 28. TE, p.408; cf. Life, Vol.2, p.20, p.170; "Is it not part of the revelation of the Kingdom of Heaven, that the word shall accomplish at last that for which it is sent; that if our wills be ever so untractable, there are resources in the divine Will by which it can subdue them to itself?" (KH, p.146); "If I take our Lord Jesus Christ as my guidethrough mysteries which I cannot penetrate, if I suppose that He knows more than we know, I must conclude that a man who has been proof against all loving influences here, who had appeared to grow harder and more cruel under those very influences, may yet find the fatherly chastisement which will break his stubbornness and lead him to contrition" (KH, p.262); "Christ... will claim the last of our race as the reward of His agony and death" (LA, p.93).
 29. "I have said distinctly that I am not a Universalist, that I have deliberately rejected the theory of Universalism, knowing what it is; and that I should as much refuse an Article which dogmatized in favour of that theory as one that dogmatized in favour of the opposite" (The Word 'Eternal', p.14); cf. "I used to hear among

- Unitarians of a future restitution for all mankind. I never could take in their words. They sounded pleasant, but they contradicted all that I saw of the condition of the world, all that I felt of the evil in myself" (Tracts for Priests and People, No.14, p.85).
30. "I ask no one to pronounce, for I dare not pronounce myself, what are the possibilities of resistance in a human will to the loving will of God" (TE, p.405); cf. "I feel there is an abyss of Death, into which I may sink, and be lost. Christ's Gospel reveals an abyss of Love, below that; I am content to be lost in that" (TE, [1853], p.442). In the second edition (1854), Maurice changed this to: "I am obliged to believe in an abyss of love which is deeper than the abyss of death; I dare not lose faith in that love. I sink into death, eternal death, if I do. I must feel that this love is compassing the universe. More about it I cannot know. But God knows. I leave myself and all to Him" (p.406).
 31. Christian Reformer, Vol.10, (1854), p.41.
 32. Walker, op.cit., pp.93ff.
 33. Ibid, p.96.
 34. Ibid, p.103.
 35. Rowell calls this widespread idea "purgatorial universalism"; see his article, 'The origins and history of Universalist Societies in Britain, 1750-1850' in JEH, Vol.22 (1971), p.55.
 36. Rowell, Hell and the Victorians, p.38.
 37. R Aspland, op.cit., p.218.
 38. L Carpenter, An examination of Bishop Magee's charges against Unitarians and Unitarianism (Bristol, 1820), p.42.
 39. John Bawn, p.39.
 40. Ibid, p.46.
 41. E Kell, Unitarians not Socinians, p.11.
 42. W A Boggs, 'Without dogma, without creed' in TUHS, Vol.13 (1966), p.149.
 43. Life, Vol.2, p.15.
 44. Tracts for Priests and People, No.14.
 45. J Martineau, Endeavours, pp.125-127.
 46. Ibid., p.133.
 47. Martineau, Hours, Vol.2, p.146
 48. Ibid., p.147.
 49. Martineau, A Study of Religion (London, 1888), Vol.2, p.361.
 50. An approach which is highlighted by Ian Ramsey as a lesson to be learnt from Maurice: "The need to peg back all our assertions into an awareness of God; the need to be circumspect of any too extensive systematization, of any cut-and-dried theology" (I T Ramsey, On Being sure in religion, London, 1963, p.16).
 51. R S Candlish, Examination of Mr Maurice's Theological Essays, London, 1854; DS, pp.xxx-xxxiv.
 52. Life, Vol.2, pp.164, 169, 182; DS, pp.xxvii and xxxii.
 53. Record, 25 July 1853.
 54. Record, 4 August 1853.
 55. Morning Advertiser, 8 November 1853. The Wesleyan journal, London Quarterly Review (1854-5) called Maurice's Essays "deadly heresy" (quoted in Rowell, Hell and the Victorians, p.83).
 56. Prospective Review, Vol.9, (1853), p.591.
 57. Inquirer, 12 November 1853. Maurice's aim was "deliverance from the corruption and materialism of the popular theology" (Life, Vol.2, p.21).
 58. H Solly, These Eighty Years, Vol.2, p.94.

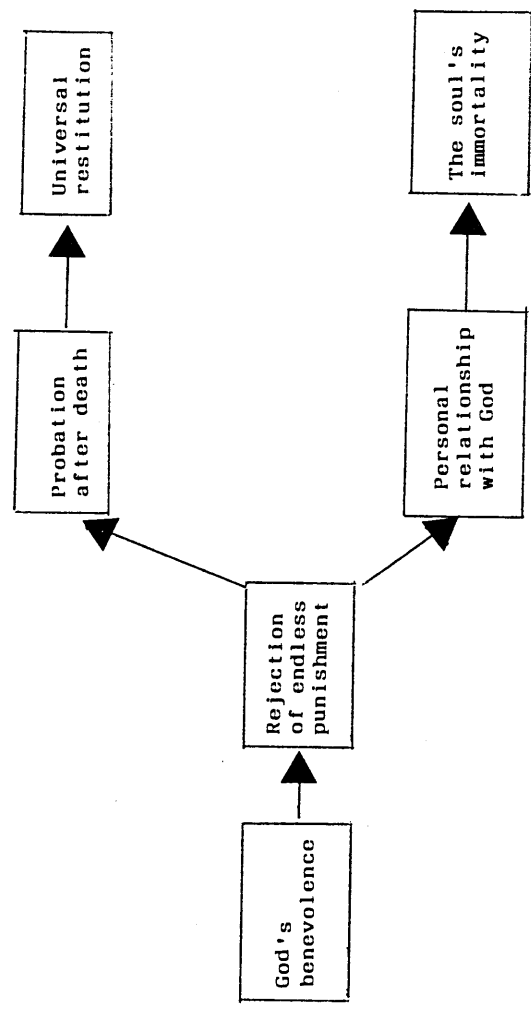
59. A F Hort, Life and Letters of Fenton J A Hort (London, 1896), Vol.1, p.275.
60. Life, Vol.2, p.184.
61. LIS, Vol.6, p.274.
62. A M Ramsey, op.cit., pp.49-54.
63. PL, p.xxi.

ETERNAL LIFE

POSITION OF F D MAURICE



POSITION OF UNITARIANS



CHAPTER EIGHT

The Christian Church, its Sacraments and Ministry

Maurice's belief in God as the loving Father of all humanity, and his high view of the dignity of mankind-in-Christ, provide key-stones for his doctrine of the Church. Further, his concern for human unity undergirds both his eucharistic teaching and his understanding of the ordained ministry. Given that Unitarianism helped to shape his view of God's character and the nature of humanity, it can be argued that Unitarianism, to a lesser extent, also affected Maurice's doctrine of the Church, the sacraments and the ministry.

The Church

Maurice's idea of the Church involves his search for a centre of unity which could bind mankind in a universal family. Relationships were important for Maurice. He believed God had established a universal Church, which embodied "the idea of family life in its highest possible expansion".¹ He believed Christ was the Head of this universal family. God had bound men together in Him; all were members of Christ and therefore members of one another.² The Church was "a spiritual, sacramental body, constituted not in laws, but in a Person".³ This universal Church

"exists to protest against a world which supposes itself to be a collection of incoherent fragments without a centre, which, where it reduces its practice to a maxim, treats every man as his own centre. The Church exists to tell the world of its true centre, of the law of mutual sacrifice by which its parts are bound together. The Church exists to maintain the order of the nation and the order of the family, which this selfish practice and selfish maxim are continually threatening".⁴

Maurice emphasised that Christ did not come to save the elected few but to embrace all, for "by the simple outward rite of Baptism God has claimed us all for His spiritual children".⁵ The created world was

co-terminus with God's Kingdom. All belonged to that Church, regardless of personal attitude.⁶ Maurice's understanding of the Church is closely linked with the manifestation of the Kingdom of God, which expresses God's unity with mankind.⁷ Christ reveals to all men a Kingdom in which they have their true being.⁸ Family, nation and (following the full revelation of God in Christ), the Church, manifest God's Order and Kingdom.⁹ The Church is the adequate visible expression of mankind's knowledge of the Divine Order, permanently witnessing to humanity's true constitution:

"the Church is, therefore, human society in its normal state; the World, that same society irregular and abnormal. The World is the Church without God; the Church is the World restored to its relation with God, taken back by Him into the state for which He created it".¹⁰

The Church is not a new, exclusive activity of the Holy Spirit, but the literally significant revelation of His universal activity. Maurice criticised the Churches for daring to "invert the order of God's revelation" and to "shut God out of His own universe".¹¹ Pentecost unveiled the source of all true inspiration and manifested unchangeable reality.¹²

The Church itself does not mediate God's salvation to mankind. To suggest that is to put the Church before God, and "we are not to pretend that they must come to Church...in order that the Word of God may work in their hearts".¹³ Men had a "Lord of their own hearts"¹⁴ but they failed, through self-will and subjection to their material senses, to recognise the "everlasting Name in which all are living and moving and having their being".¹⁵ Thus, they needed the Church as a witness to tell them of their true constitution in Christ. The Church existed in the world

"as a witness to mankind that there is a continual, divine, gracious government over it; as a witness to each nation that God is not less a King over it than He was over the Jews".¹⁶

All this was contrasted in Maurice's mind with what he called the 'religious world',¹⁷ which witnessed "only for itself, for its own privileges, and its difference from the rest of mankind".¹⁸ The term 'religious world' was often used by Maurice to describe an understanding of the Church which was sectarian and exclusive, and which he strongly and bitterly opposed.¹⁹ Maurice felt he had to belong to the Church of England rather than to the Unitarian or any other denomination which he saw as having been formed by men since "as long as we think we can form churches we cannot be witnesses for a Humanity and for a Son of Man".²⁰

Baptism and the Eucharist

Maurice saw the sacraments of the Church as signs to the whole human race of the existence of a universal kingdom, attesting the reality and universality of God's gifts, grounded in His grace, not dependent on man's belief.²¹ They are

"the very voice in which God speaks to His creatures; the very witness that their fellowship with each other rests on their fellowship with Him, and both upon the mystery of His being".²²

Maurice spent a very great deal of time reflecting on the meaning of baptism, which he saw as "the first sign of the existence of a Catholic Church or Kingdom of Christ in the world".²³ Baptism was not a momentary act but "a perpetual sacrament"²⁴ reminding man constantly that he is a member of Christ, that he belongs to the Head of the race, and that he is to live as such.²⁵ It declares "man's true and right constitution to be that of union with God".²⁶ It asserts "an absolute, undoubted, unconditional truth concerning the condition of that person who comes to it".²⁷ Baptism for Maurice involved no change of nature, and he rejected

and deplored what he understood to be Pusey's position. Maurice took this to be that "the baptised child was holy for a moment after its baptism, in committing sin it lost its purity. That could only be recovered by acts of repentance and a system of ascetical discipline", a view of grace legalistic rather than personal.²⁸ Men lived and moved in the Divine Being; they did not acquire this privilege by baptism, "we baptise them because they have it".²⁹ Nevertheless this was not how Unitarians saw the teaching of the Church of England. They quite naturally asked "if baptism only confesses a great spiritual fact, why are not unbaptised children dying before the commission of sin equally assured of Salvation by the Church?"³⁰ Unabashed, Maurice continued to affirm the universal character of baptism, by which "we claim the position which Christ has claimed for all mankind".³¹ Baptism is fully inclusive and great guilt attached to those who used it as a plea for exclusion.³² Baptism was a witness for the Son of Man and the universality of His Kingdom, and explained the nature of that Kingdom to the simplest minds. Christ had been preaching "at the fonts, when we have been darkening counsel in pulpits".³³

There is a Unitarian flavour about Maurice's refusal to be dogmatic about the sacraments. To do so would "destroy their nature".³⁴ Baptism and the eucharist express the nature of God's relationship with mankind but dogma could not give expression to that relationship. The eucharist was an inclusive sign which bound mankind together in Christ.³⁵ Further, it declared to those who submit to it as well as to those who do not that God is in communion with the whole of mankind.³⁶ The eucharist testifies that

"a living and perpetual communion has been established between God and man; between earth and heaven; between all spiritual

creatures; that the bond of this communion is that body and blood which the Son of God and the Son of Man offered up to His Father, in fulfilment of His will, a manifestation of His love".³⁷

The eucharist is the "pledge and spring of a renewed life" and assures those who share in it that this renewed life is God's eternal life.³⁸

Man's body as well as his spirit is redeemed, and has been raised up with Christ in His resurrection and glorified by Christ in His ascension.

There is a recurring emphasis on the eucharist as the locus of the rising up of man to be with Christ "in those heavens where He is".³⁹

Communion, sacrifice and fellowship are the principal ideas at the heart of Maurice's understanding of the eucharist.⁴⁰ The sacraments summed up the message of the gospel.⁴¹ It embodied "in a living feast the complete idea of (Christ's) kingdom".⁴² Like baptism, the eucharist is a visible sign revealing eternal truth.⁴³ While Maurice never suggests that sacraments are in themselves the means of God's redemption of man, they are of the utmost value and importance since they reveal how God in Christ eternally acts towards mankind.⁴⁴ They not only demonstrate God's relationship with mankind, they also provide a means where by grace humanity shares in the divine life through the offering of itself in union with Christ.

The Ministry

The purpose of the ministry in Maurice's view is twofold: firstly, it is a universal and permanent institution which demonstrates and exemplifies the structured relationship of mankind to Christ in His Kingdom; secondly, it is an image of Christ's own ministry which representatively exhibits His character. The ordained ministry is to be seen as a sign of an order and constitution among men, but it is not to

be viewed in isolation.⁴⁵ God calls every man to his particular work, and in discharging his tasks man obeys God.⁴⁶ In serving his fellow men, he mediates the love of God, whose Holy Spirit guides and inspires all mankind.⁴⁷ Maurice believed that any kind of employment was secularised and profaned when seen as self-appointed, but sacred when accepted as a vocation from God.⁴⁸ He contended

"that every Christian should believe himself called to every work in which he engages; and that except he believes this, the work will be unholy and cheerless, pursued without confidence in God or any expectation of high and worthy fruit".⁴⁹

The ordained ministry discloses to every man how he is to understand his own vocation. By upholding the sacredness of their own office, priests "bear witness for the consecration and holiness of God's entire family".⁵⁰ The ministerial offices of overseer, presbyter and deacon (which Maurice sees as shepherding, reconciling and serving tasks) are images of Christ's own ministry.⁵¹ The ordained ministry gives concrete expression to the concepts of communion, fellowship, permanence and universality which characterised Christ's personal ministry. The blessings communicated to mankind through the ministry are Christ's own blessings. In faithfully fulfilling his tasks, the minister exhibits the character of Christ.⁵² The ministry points to an invisible presence, and its purpose is "to bring before men the fact that they are subject to an invisible and universal Ruler".⁵³ Maurice describes the four gospels as "the institution of a Christian ministry".⁵⁴ Its role is essentially apostolic in that it exists to witness to "the existence of a union which the distinctions of nation and language could not break".⁵⁵ This subjection and union is to be thought of as a permanent and personal relationship with Christ. The ministry's essentially familial character witnesses to this personal relationship.⁵⁶ Its basis is "an actual union between the body and its Head".⁵⁷

Unitarian teaching

Compared with Maurice's extensive presentation of his teaching, especially in The Kingdom of Christ, Unitarian views about the nature and purpose of the Church, or the place of the sacraments and ministry in the life of God's people, are not well defined. To date, Unitarian scholars themselves have not submitted to theological scrutiny the denominational literature of the period in order to determine what English Unitarians believed about the nature of the Church during the middle years of the nineteenth century. Neither is there a theological commentary on Unitarian teaching about baptism, the eucharist or the ministry. The denomination's liturgical history has fared somewhat better at the hands of C E Pike, A E Peaston and Horton Davies. Mortimer Rowe has written briefly about the origins of the Unitarian ministry.⁵⁸

Documentary evidence for the following survey has been found in the biographies and obituary notices of some Unitarian ministers contemporary with F D Maurice, in liturgical documents, in Unitarian journals and newspapers, in articles and correspondence of the Martineau group, and in contemporary sermons. Though some individuals and groups held strong views as to the nature of the Church and the value of the sacraments no all-embracing Unitarian teaching emerges. One would be surprised if it did since Unitarians submit to no doctrinal creeds or articles and have consistently maintained the Christian necessity of "bearing with one another's different sentiments in religion".⁵⁹ According to his grandson, Michael Maurice's favourite saying was that all should believe that to which "their conscientious convictions led them".⁶⁰ Thom defended Unitarian pluralism during the Liverpool controversy of 1839 when he said "Take one form of Unitarianism as it is represented by

Priestley; or take another and better form of it as it is represented by Channing; but do not confuse in one two minds so radically different, and call a combination which never had existence, the Unitarian Faith".⁶¹ This is not to say that attempts were not made in some Unitarian circles well into the nineteenth century to define Unitarianism in quasi-credal forms based on the Priestley-Belsham traditional insistence on miracles and resurrection. The gradual movement towards an undogmatic, intuitional position exemplified by Martineau and his followers was fiercely resisted through the middle years of the century by leading Unitarians such as Samual Bache, John Relly Beard and Robert Brook Aspland.⁶²

The Church

In contrast to the "polemical assemblies" of the Priestley and Belsham era the influence of Martineau, Tayler, Thom and Wicksteed after 1840 was towards a "High Church" conception of the Unitarian congregation. A proposal to build a Unitarian cathedral in London was one of the subjects occupying the correspondence columns of The Inquirer during 1854. Tayler looked forward to a Church in which tradition, scripture, and reason would all have their place and he looked back at eighteenth century deism which he believed had failed because it "no uses, no cherished remembrances, no light from the past shedding its hallowed lustre in spots and seasons".⁶³ Martineau attached great importance to the national expression of a "fundamental unity of religious sentiment in the English people".⁶⁴

"Comprehension" and "catholic" were favourite words with Martineau and his colleagues. They employed the word "catholic" in the same way as

earlier English Presbyterians, meaning broadness, comprehension and mutual toleration. Martineau's idea of the Church was undogmatic and inclusive with foundations built not on credal statements but upon reverence and love: "A man's church must be the home of whatever he most deeply loves, trusts, admires, and reveres, - of whatever most divinely expresses the essential meaning of the Christian faith and life".⁶⁵

Henry Solly caught the anti-sectarian feeling of his friend Maurice when he wrote "has not the true Church of Christ in all ages consisted of those who were drawn towards their Saviour as a common centre...we do not now require to form a Church. It already exists - has existed for many centuries".⁶⁶ Martineau was deeply concerned that the chapels in which Unitarians worshipped should not bear a name of such doctrinal rigidity. He would have liked to have seen the establishment of a Christian nonconformist union "to seize the field left vacant for a Catholic Nonconformity".⁶⁷

Varying views on the nature of the Church appeared in the columns of The Inquirer following Martineau's attempt to distinguish between the word Unitarian in a theological sense from its use as a description of the Church.⁶⁸ An editorial thought Martineau contradicted himself by urging that theological views should be distinct from Church combinations. "Our theological relations are wider, and consequently less sectarian than our ecclesiastical combinations" it insisted.⁶⁹ A reader thought Martineau was being unrealistic since their belief in the simple unity of God was bound to condemn them to spiritual isolation. "Why then" he asked, "decline to assume designation which our attitude thus imposes on us?"⁷⁰ Whether he liked it or not Martineau would be known far and wide as "the foremost theologian of the Unitarian church" said The Inquirer in another

leader.⁷¹ A layman thought that Martineau was no defender of the Unitarian faith and suspected his credentials as a teacher of young ministers.⁷² A Manchester reader on the other hand supported Martineau and called for a widening of the Church's foundations. Unitarianism had a tendency to exclude anyone once he saw Christ as something more than "a simple villager of Nazareth".⁷³

During the nineteenth century there was a clear development amongst Unitarians from congregations of a polemical nature towards bodies of individuals sharing many features in common and engaged together in worship as their primary function.⁷⁴ But nowhere in Unitarian literature is there any suggestion of the Church as the body of Christ, an organism in and through which God reveals His ideal for the whole of mankind, though some Unitarians claimed that their Church was meant to be a Church for all English people, universal, much as Maurice visualised it.

Baptism

Unitarian teaching about baptism is more significant for what it omits than for what it includes. No suggestion of incorporation into Christ, the partaking of His death and resurrection, nor of a cleansing from original sin (and therefore no sense of regeneration) can be found in the work of Lindsey or Belsham, or Martineau and his contemporaries.

During the early period of Unitarianism the stress in baptism was on its reasonableness, and its weakness was due to this appeal to the intellect alone. In Theophilus Lindsey's 1774 revision of the Book of Common Prayer, based on the work of Samuel Clarke, parents are exhorted to inculcate in their baptised child high morality and to remind him of his

rational nature "of the importance of reason, the light of God within him". Baptised adults were reminded of the inclusive nature of the Church: "By being baptised, you do not declare yourself of any religious sect or party; but a Christian".⁷⁵

The most influential Unitarian service book was Common Prayers for Christian Worship produced by a group of London Unitarian ministers in 1862. The baptism service is no doubt the work of Thomas Sadler.⁷⁶ The infant is admitted "into the bosom of Thy Church, into the service of Christ, in the arms of Thy mercy, and into the Communion of Saints". Parents promise to instruct the child in the gospel and keep God's holy will and commandments. Baptism took place either with a "Trinitarian" formula or simply in the name of Jesus Christ, though if the parents wished the child might be dedicated instead of baptised.⁷⁷

Early in life Martineau decided that baptism was inapplicable except to persons "voluntarily changing over from some other religion to Christianity, and I have therefore never administered it, but have substituted a simple Dedication Service, addressed to parents shortly after the birth of the child, without any use of water, or any other ceremonial form". He did not take the "usual view of baptism, as the door of entrance into the Christian fold".⁷⁸ Martineau's dedication addresses place stress on the sacredness of life, and there are typical Unitarian denials about original sin. The child is dedicated to the service of God in the spirit of Christ and commended to the shelter of Christ's fold, the emphasis being on the support which parents needed and which could be found within the Church.⁷⁹

F D Maurice's father practised the rite of baptism and used the Trinitarian formula, though there is no explanation of what he meant by the service or the use of the formula. But it is important to remember that Michael Maurice was not aggressively Unitarian but rather a survivor from Arian Presbyterianism of the previous century to whom the Trinitarian formula might be less offensive. He appears to have baptised Frederick in infancy, but the youngest members of the family (Harriet born 1819 and the twins Esther and Lucilla born 1814) were in their teens when they were baptised during Michael Maurice's brief period of service at the New Meeting, Birmingham, in 1831, which suggests a shift in his understanding of baptism, perhaps towards a need for a commitment on the part of the candidate.⁸⁰ F D Maurice himself clearly had some doubts about his father's intentions at the time of his own baptism which lead him to undergo a second baptism in Oxford in 1831.⁸¹

There was little that Maurice could take from Unitarianism and incorporate in his own unique conception of baptism. Unitarianism declared somewhat negatively that the child was innocent of any offence; Maurice taught that baptism was the declaration of a child's constitutional relationship to God in Christ. If Unitarians saw baptism as the dedication of an infant to God so that he might grow into a morally upright adult, Maurice saw baptism as the sign of union with Christ. Unitarianism entirely lacked any sense of pledge or covenant whereas Maurice reflects something of Luther's view of baptism as the sign that God is in a covenant relationship with all the baptised. On the other hand Unitarian offices of baptism struck a note of comprehensiveness and inclusion which is found in Maurice. He also

shared with them a basic conviction that the child underwent no change of nature in baptism, and Unitarians would have agreed with him that what was happening was that the child was coming under the influence of a light that had always been shining.⁸² Finally the stress on the ethical implications of baptism which are a notable feature of the Unitarian rites, are paralleled by Maurice's demand that the baptised man must live as a citizen of Christ's kingdom, sacrificing himself for the sake of fellow members.

Holy Communion

Lindsey's radical theology, especially his dislike of sacerdotalism, is particularly evident in his order for the Holy Communion, where the emphasis is on memorialism. Prior to the movement lead by Martineau, Thom and Tayler, the Unitarian laity strongly resisted the communion service. Thom, who saw the communion as the very centre of religious fellowship, noted in his diary for 1830 that attendance at Holy Communion was "lamentably deficient".⁸³ Martineau's communion addresses are memorialist in tone yet contain exhortations to live as Christ lived, inspired by his example and to be a "genuine disciple of Christ....penetrated by his view of providence, of life, of man, of heaven". The rite directed the attention of the Christian disciple to the present, living God and "the Master whom we remember at this hour" quickened within the disciple the "divine spirit".⁸⁴

Attendance at the Lord's Supper and the precise meaning of communion exercised the minds of a number of Unitarian ministers during the 1850's. A special conference on the subject was held in London in May, 1853, attended by Henry Solly, Edmund Kell and others. John Kenrick (by

letter) thought that the poor attendance at communion was because of the "want of some rule or usage". He urged that a rule of attendance should be established at a young age through preparation and a service similar to confirmation. Solly was "certain that preaching alone was not sufficient for the spiritual life either of individuals or the church, and that forms are valuable and necessary for the sustenance of that life".⁸⁵ Solly's concern for a structure promoting spiritual growth reflects something of his friend Maurice's view that "spiritual beings, with spiritual necessities, with spiritual appetites" need "common prayer".⁸⁶

At a meeting of the Unitarian ministers of Lancaster and Chester in June 1853, J J Tayler described the Lord's Supper as "a significant symbol of Christian communion, the sort of outward bond of the great Catholic Church. I have always laid far more stress upon that view than upon anything doctrinal or mystical". J H Thom said "It was a mistake to make it a service for preaching, for words were not the language suitable to the occasion. The minister's utterance should be confined to vitalising the symbols and he should then allow them to influence the heart".⁸⁷ This caution as to the use of words and the effectiveness of the signs themselves has a distinctly Mauricean ring about it. The columns of The Inquirer reflected various shades of meaning. One correspondent asked whether attendance at the Lord's Supper meant (a) a formal declaration rather like signing a covenant, (b) it meant no more than attendance at any other service, or (c) there was some special sanctity, in which every true disciple joins.⁸⁸ Henry Solly replied that there was a wide range of positions which could be held and it was a matter of personal decision, but by joining in the Lord's Supper a disciple "is doing all

that is involved in an act declaratory of his remembrance of Christ".⁸⁹ John Fullagar called for regular attendance, arguing that if anyone read the gospels "how any objection against complying with our Lord's direction can arise, is with me the only wonder; for, if words can be explicit, those he used on this occasion bear this character".⁹⁰ Mott replied to Solly that Christ's mission was "altogether spiritual" and called for no fixed forms.⁹¹

The Ministry

Unitarianism presents an unclear picture of the nature and purposes of the preaching and pastoral office. The Unitarian minister, certainly during the lifetime of Michael Maurice, was essentially a theologically educated layman, who was called to a preaching ministry at a particular church. He might have some pastoral responsibilities, but these would be secondary to other commitments, such as teaching or commerce.

Some indication of the relationship of Unitarian ministers to their congregations is revealed in the Frenchay Chapel correspondence. Hort's letter of resignation shows that he had originally been chosen to undertake the "solemn, important obligations of the pastoral office". He had been non-resident and business had prevented him from some of the duties he would have liked to have embraced, and from giving the amount of time he would have liked in the preparation he made for Sunday worship. He had tried to be "a conscientious minister" and to "maintain and diffuse....the pure knowledge of the truth".⁹² The chapel treasurer's letter of invitation to Michael Maurice, Hort's successor, shows that the congregation had passed a unanimous resolution inviting him to the pastorate,⁹³ and Maurice accepts saying that his purpose will

be to promote "free and undefiled religion" and to spread "knowledge with liberality, and piety with Christian principles".⁹⁴ When he resigned, he claimed that his task had been to lead the congregation into "the knowledge of God and of his son Jesus Christ".⁹⁵ Education had formed an important part of his ministry at Frenchay, and on leaving he gave money for the work of a Sunday School and a congregational library.⁹⁶ "Ministers usually had little to do with do with the governance of a congregation and were not expected to be regularly on call for pastoral work or for extensive socialising", says R K Webb, looking at the ministry in 1835.⁹⁷ The old Presbyterian model of a well educated minister combining the roles of schoolmaster and preacher continued to flourish.

His work as a preacher was of the highest importance to the Unitarian minister and his people. The celebrated Unitarian minister James Yates, who became pastor of the New Meeting, Birmingham, in 1817, believed that pastoral care was a vital aspect of the minister's responsibilities, but he gave pride of place to the preaching role - especially when the preaching was drawn from personal experience.⁹⁸ Thom believed that preaching was the aspect which differentiated the minister from other Christians,⁹⁹ and his friend Martineau believed that the "yearning of the heart to become the organ of divine truth and pity to the world" was the supreme preparation for the evangelist's work.¹⁰⁰ Martineau elevated preaching to a high spiritual plane, for the preacher's word and conduct was nothing less than a sacrifice offered to "the Lord of conscience and Searcher of hearts".¹⁰¹ He abhorred the sacerdotal and ritualist elements of religion¹⁰² and while he did not see the ministry as an image of Christ's own mission in the world, he did give it a representative and

interpretative dimension. The very essence of the minister was the breadth and comprehensiveness of his sphere which represented the place of religion in the world. He was to interpret the divine will and method.¹⁰³ There were calls on Unitarian ministers to engage in denominational propaganda. An Inquirer correspondent lamented public ignorance of Unitarian opinions which he believed was the great obstacle to the denomination's progress.¹⁰⁴ Ministers might have been prepared to do more had they not been so poorly paid that they were obliged to engage in other occupations. In 1845 Edmund Kell made a strenuous appeal in a letter to the editor of The Inquirer begging young ministers to stay at their posts in spite of temptations to "better their temporal interests" in secular occupations. "On their faithfulness under God mainly depends our probability of diffusing national religion".¹⁰⁵ Hutton claimed in a leading article that there were "congregations in plenty where rich men....pay less to their minister than to their shoemaker".¹⁰⁶ There were exceptions, but in the main the low salaries reflected the low estimate which the congregation had of the minister's importance in the Unitarian church structure. He might be of its bene esse but he was certainly not of its esse.

Preaching, teaching, defending Unitarian ideology, some involvement in social work, and (where financial constraints permitted) some degree of pastoral work, formed the basis of the Unitarian minister's duties. He was a professional minister only when in the employment of a particular congregation, and even then was rarely free to devote himself solely to the ministerial function. Engaged by the chapel committee, distinguished from the layman by no rite of ordination, and belonging only loosely to a body of ministers, he could sit as easily in pew as in pulpit. He

might, by virtue of his work as a preacher, be seen to have a prophetic role, but any sense of priestly character was vehemently repudiated. Nevertheless, and probably with tongue in cheek, the Reverend F Bishop of Exeter declared in 1845 that "there is much popery amongst us all; for Unitarians insist that the minister has no special privileges, and yet leave all the work to be done by him".¹⁰⁷

Contrasted with F D Maurice's conception of Holy Orders as an image of Christ's own ministry, Unitarianism may be accused of restricting ministry to the pulpit, and seriously undervaluing its pastoral aspects. But there is evidence which suggests a certain ambivalence on Maurice's own part towards the ministry. Solly reported that Maurice felt R H Hutton had been far more useful as an editor than he would have been as an Anglican clergyman. Maurice also believed that novels were more useful than sermons, and Solly remarks that "that was not the only occasion on which I heard him disparage the profession and work to which he had given himself so utterly and so effectively".¹⁰⁸ Again Maurice told his elder son that "a soldier....might be often as good a witness of God as a Clergyman".¹⁰⁹ Maurice more than once voiced his suspicion of the impartiality of his fellow priests and bishops and preferred to be judged by laymen.¹¹⁰ Of course, this is not to suggest that Maurice is seriously diminishing the pastoral office; earlier examination of his teaching has indicated the very important place he gave it in his theological framework, the Divine Order. But by exalting the vocation of every man (whatever his place, he was called to it by God),¹¹¹ and by emphasising the representative and not vicarial role of the ministry, Maurice may have pitched himself closer to a nonconformist view of the ministry than he intended. It was possible to detect his ambivalence

between assuming and at the next turn denying the peculiar functions of the priesthood. This at least was the view of the Unitarian reviewer of one of Maurice's books, who, having declared that the "Church of England is ^a/Sacerdotal Church" felt that Maurice "in the depths of his Soul is free from Sacerdotalism".¹¹² This was an accurate assessment, but there was more to be said. Maurice's aim was to move the spotlight away from a narrow view of 'the Ministry' to the Will of God revealed in Christ. All God's people fulfil their calling as His ministers by responding to Him and to the demands of His Kingdom in their daily lives and occupations. This is their vocation. "I would have all laymen feel that they are called by God to their different offices".¹¹³ By His order and design, "we are placed in certain vocations for the good of mankind and for His glory".¹¹⁴ Maurice therefore perceived ministry to be the function of all the people of God:

"Some of us have the name of Ministers. That is not that we may be separate from our fellows, but that we may give them a sign what Christ would have them be. All of us are ministers".¹¹⁵

While Maurice's words certainly foreshadow the steady development (especially in the Church of England) of a variety of practical methods of achieving corporate ministry, he was also aware that ministry can easily be limited to religious activities, thereby secularizing ordinary vocations. "The man of letters and the man of science...are called of God to the work in which they are engaged; they are His ministers", argues Maurice.¹¹⁶ This is entirely consistent with his belief in the relatedness of God to His entire creation, to which ministry in all its forms must ever bear witness.

NOTES

1. KC, Vol.1, p.331.
2. CGE, p.172.
3. KC, Vol.2, p.295.
4. LIS, Vol.1, p.251.
5. Ibid., Vol.2, p.343; cf. "By Baptism we claim the position which Christ has claimed for all mankind" (Life, Vol.1, p.182).
6. "Of your relation to this Church you cannot rid yourselves, any more than you can change the law under which your natural bodies and the members of them exist" (LIS, Vol.5, p.241); cf. "Our Lord's words....show us that our consciousness is not in any sense the foundation of God's kingdom, that His love is the foundation of it" (GJ, p.99).
7. "There rose up before me the idea of a CHURCH UNIVERSAL, not built upon human inventions or human faith, but upon the very nature of God Himself, and upon the union which He has formed with His creatures: a Church revealed to man as a fixed and eternal reality by means which infinite wisdom had itself devised" (KC, Vol.1, p.xxviii).
8. "The spiritual and universal society must be involved in the very idea of our human constitution, say rather, must be that constitution, by virtue of which we realise that there is a humanity, that we form a kind" (KC, Vol.1, p.252).
9. "While this universal society, according to the historical conception of it, grew out of the Jewish family and nation, it is, according to the theological conception of it, the root of both. 'That', says Aristotle, 'which is first as cause is last in discovery'. And this beautiful formula is translated into life and reality in the letter to the Ephesians, when St Paul tells them that they were created in Christ before all worlds, and when he speaks of the transcendent economy as being gradually revealed to the Apostles and Prophets by the Spirit. (The Gospel reveals) the true constitution of humanity in Christ, so that a man believes and acts a lie who does not claim for himself union with Christ" (KC, Vol.1, pp.295-6).
10. TE, p.343. Maurice's vision of the Church Universal may be compared with that of J J Tayler, who wrote to F W Newman (19 November 1852): "I fully anticipate a day when the miserable partitions of our modern sectarianism will break down, and good and pious men of all creeds will enter into communion, and the Church of Christ will again be one" (Tayler's Letters, Vol.1, p.333).
11. LIS, Vol.2, pp.101-102.
12. "Shall we never ask whether the Day of Pentecost is not the explanation of the Constitution of human society, the interpretation of the difference between that Universality, which is grounded upon the Spirit of Truth, who binds together and quickens the spirits of men, - and the Universality of Despotism, Imperial, Ecclesiastical, Democratical?" (WR, pp.463-4).
13. LIS, Vol.1, p.186; cf. "If I think the Church is above God, or that I derive any knowledge of God from the Church and not from Him, I shall be obliged to change its method and substance" (Tracts for Priests and People, No.6, p.29).
14. GJ, p.347.
15. Life, Vol.2, p.443.
16. PL, p.xx; cf. "The sin of the Church - the horrible apostasy of

- the Church - has consisted in denying its own function, which is to proclaim to men their spiritual condition, the eternal foundation on which it rests, the manifestation which has been made of it by the birth, death, resurrection and ascension of the Son of God, and the gift of the Spirit" (Life, Vol.2, p.272); cf. Martineau composed a prayer in which he described the Church as being appointed "to be the witness of divine things in the world" (Common Prayer for Christian Worship, 1862, Tenth Service); cf. Thom: "Every Christian Church is a witness for God. It exists to proclaim that He has a Kingdom in the world, and that He is seeking to draw all men into it" (A Minister for God, p.109).
17. Maurice wrote to Richard Trench (17 August 1837) about Annie Barton, whose "religion is quite unsoiled by contact with the religious world" (Life, Vol.1, p.234).
 18. PL, p.xxiii.
 19. The faith of the religious world was "essentially exclusive" (op.cit. p.xxiv); cf. "The idea of (the Church) as a great sect or a small sect, a great collection of sects, a great machine for converting the nations, has more and more driven out the old faith, has led people to think that the Church must be either a mere world, or else a narrow, self-willed confederation; that it must either cease to be a spiritual body, or cease to be a universal one" (CAF, pp.14-15); "You know, from the records of history, what has happened when any sect or school has become dominant; that it has changed from a witness for Christ into a witness for itself; that the vital convictions which were dear to its founders pass into dead notions and an unmeaning phraseology; that the opposition to other schools becomes the chief token that it retains any energy of its own" (Life, Vol.2, pp.374-5); cf. "The longer I live the more thoroughly sick I become of all sects, the Unitarian sect included" (Tayler's Letters, Vol.1, p.276).
 20. Life, Vol.2, pp.299-300.
 21. AA, p.188.
 22. KC, Vol.1, p.xxviii; cf. "The institutions are themselves living portions of the divine kingdom" (ibid., Vol.2, p.417); "Sacraments express the purpose, and the relation of God to man" (Life, Vol.2, p.495).
 23. KC, Vol.1, p.335; cf. "Baptism is the sign of a spiritual and universal kingdom" (ibid., p.307).
 24. Ibid., p.315.
 25. LIS, Vol.1, p.81. cf. "You speak of your baptism, and dispute about it, but you do not believe your baptism, for you do not think it has sealed you members of Christ, and sons of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven, and that God is ever with you to make this inheritance actually yours" (PB, p.233).
 26. KC, Vol.2, p.4. Cf. Baptism "asserts for each man that he is taken into union with a Divine Person" (KC, Vol.1, p.331); "Each of us is baptized as a sign that his life is not in himself but in Christ, and Christ gives us His Holy Spirit in baptism to testify that we are united to Him, and are the sons of God in Him, and have power to do the work He gives us to do" (CD, p.222); "I am deeply persuaded that a covenant presupposes an actual relation; and therefore object wholly to those phrases (common to High Churchmen and Evangelicals) which speak of the relation as if it were constituted by the covenant, but I see now much more clearly than I did that every man practically denies the relationship who does

- not enter into the covenant (in which word I include claiming it for his children), and that he puts himself and them in quite a different position by entering into it" (Life, Vol.1, pp.208-209).
27. CAF, p.42.
 28. Life, Vol.1, p.237.
 29. CGE, p.179.
 30. Prospective Review, Vol.7 (1851), p.32.
 31. Life, Vol.1, p.182.
 32. UNT, p.278; cf. "the baptized Church is not set apart as a witness for exclusion, but against it" (PB, p.10, Maurice's italics); "our baptism is the simplest and fullest witness of a redemption which covers and comprehends those who are not baptised" ("The Revision of the Prayer Book and the Act of Uniformity" in Macmillan's Magazine [April 1860]); by baptism "I assert the universality of God's redemption in Christ, by that I assert also that redemption to be of the sheep in each of us, not of the goat which is given over to everlasting perdition. Baptism tells me that I am God's child, and may live as if I were" (Life, Vol.2, p.242); baptism "is the witness to men of the real spiritual fellowship which is to embrace all nations into itself when its meaning is truly declared" (Life, Vol.2, p.275). Susannah Winkworth reported to her sister Catherine (14 July 1858) that Maurice "expressed himself quite clearly that the unbaptised were God's children nevertheless; only what he wanted to insist upon was that they were so not by virtue of their natural and physical birth but by God's taking them into his adoption and this was what baptism expressed" (M J Shaen, op.cit., pp.181-182).
 33. KH, p.282.
 34. Life, Vol.2, p.495; cf. p.590.
 35. "Here I find the very significance of the sign. Here I may discover what the Eucharist has been to Christendom - what it has been to each man who has desired to be one of the great Christendom family - what it may be as a means of binding that family together - how it may become a bond to nations which are as yet lying beyond the circle of that family" (GJ, p.196); on his deathbed, Maurice referred to the eucharist as "being for all nations and peoples" (Life, Vol.2, p.643); see also his final sermon at Vere-street and his pleasure at the "open communion" in Westminster Abbey in 1870 (Life, Vol.2, pp.595 and 617).
 36. "Do you think that any ordinance of Christ can have reference merely to the advantage or enjoyment of those who submit to it?.... if this feast does not show forth or declare something to the world, - if we only seek in it for some benefit to ourselves, - it cannot be a communion in the body or in the mind of Jesus Christ" (LIS, Vol.4, p.100).
 37. PB, p.230; cf. "Prize this sacrament as the witness, the deepest, truest, simplest witness that God is with men, that all good things are from Him, that nothing can be true in us but what is the reflection of His truth" (ibid, p.235); cf. also KC, Vol.2, p.64.
 38. PB, p.231; cf. "Could they doubt that when they ate this bread and drank this wine, He meant that they should have the fullest participation of that sacrifice with which God had declared Himself well pleased, that they should really enter into that Presence, into which the Forerunner had for them entered, that they should really receive in that communion all the spiritual blessings which, through the union of the Godhead with human flesh, the heirs of

- this flesh might inherit?" (KC, Vol.2, pp.62-3).
39. LIS, Vol.1, p.73.
 40. The sacrament is "a witness of a real communion between man and his Maker" (KC, Vol.2, p.95); cf. "the Eucharist, the communion with Christ where He is, with the Son of Man as the Head of humanity, as the perfect Image of the Father, scatters that dream (i.e. of priestly intercession to achieve transubstantiation) far more effectually than all arguments. In fact, no arguments can scatter it, till we labour, instead of defining the Eucharist, to give it an honour which it has never had. Till we accept it as the very organon of scientific theology and of social life, we shall never get rid of the abuse which has clung to it. Nay, it will still continue to be the symbol of all the divisions of Christendom, when it is meant to be the expression of our unity" (Life, Vol.2, pp.590-591; see also, PB, p.262; "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper gathers up into itself all that I have been saying to you on Sacrifice; yea, and all that the Apostle is saying in the wonderful passage I have been commenting on. And while at that Feast we give thanks for a Sacrifice, an oblation and satisfaction....we come certain that, unless God feeds us with the flesh and blood of His Son, we have no power to fulfil any of our tasks in that kingdom, to enjoy any of its immunities and rights" (DS, p.292).
 41. "The very words which indicate the Lord's Supper, 'Eucharist' and 'Communion' are explanatory of the whole Gospel, of our necessities, of the way in which God has satisfied them" (Life, Vol.2, p.394).
 42. KC, Vol.2, p.71.
 43. "I regard that Sacrament as looking backward to the beginning, onward to the end of all things - as speaking of Him from whom all things have proceeded, and in whom all shall be gathered up, whether things in heaven or things in earth" (GJ, p.195).
 44. "The Eucharist is a pledge of that great and final victory, the mightiest pledge which God himself has given us" (PB, p.277).
 45. "I believe that this spiritual and universal body was not made by Christ to depend upon the feelings, or faith of men....(but) He meant His Church to stand in certain permanent and universal institutions....in a permanent ministry through which He should declare His will, and dispense His blessings to the whole body" (Three Letters to the Rev. W Palmer, p.8).
 46. "Remember, that whatever your place in the world, you are called by God, your Almighty Father, to that place. He calls you to be farmers, labourers, schoolmasters, magistrates, physicians, clergymen." (SCC, p.188); cf. "He (the clergyman) is different from other men inasmuch as he has tasks to perform which other men have not to perform. He is like other men inasmuch as they have all a general calling as men, and have all their specific calling as physicians, soldiers, tradesmen" (Life, Vol.2, p.417); see also SCC, p.204.
 47. "He is intending the creatures whom He has made in His image to share His own nature, to show it forth in their intercourse with each other and with the world in which He has placed them" (EJ, p.259); cf. CD, p.272; SCC, p.15; Dialogues on Family Worship, p.185. (Hereafter, FW).
 48. "Secularity of some kind....has assailed, and must always assail every man in this world; and I believe there is no deliverance

- from it for any man, but in the belief that he has a vocation" (KC, Vol.2, p.151). The thrust of Maurice's argument is a refusal to distinguish between specifically ordinary and specifically religious spheres of life. Martineau and his colleagues also refused to label some activities secular and others 'holy'.
49. KC, Vol.2, p. 125.
 50. PL, p.216. Cf. "In denying that we are called to our ministry by anything more than an earthly summons, that we hold it by anything more than an earthly tenure, you are undermining the sacredness, and with the sacredness the dignity of the lawyer's, the physician's, the statesman's character" (CAF, p.146); "I would have all laymen feel that they are called by GOD to their different offices, but I do not think they will feel it if we (the clergy) do not feel our call more distinctly, and assert it against all doubts in our minds and apparent contradictions from without" (Life, Vol.2, p.53); KH, p.46.
 51. KC, Vol.2, pp.115 and 146.
 52. "Those offices....are not held in virtue of any qualities or merits in those creatures, but are held from Christ and under Christ by persons who can exhibit His character truly only just so far as they perform their work faithfully" (KC, Vol.2, p.116).
 53. KC, Vol.2, p.115.
 54. Ibid., p.118.
 55. Ibid., p.119.
 56. This is the theme of Maurice's 1850 sermons collected under the title The Church a Family, especially sermon No.11.
 57. KC, Vol.2, p.156.
 58. C E Pike: 'Unitarian Liturgies', TUHS, Vol.3 (1925), pp.217-223; A E Peaston: 'Nineteenth Century Liturgies', TUHS, Vol.7, (1941), pp.215ff; The Prayer Book Reform Movement in the Eighteenth Century; The Prayer Book tradition in the Free Churches (London 1964); Horton M Davies: Worship and theology in England: From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850; and From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900 (London, 1962), pp.264-281; M Rowe: 'The Historical Development of the Unitarian Ministry in England', in Faith and Freedom, Vol.13 (Oxford, 1960), pp.61-70. R K Webb has conducted a large-scale statistical study of the Unitarian ministry in Great Britain and Ireland from 1780 to 1980, not yet published; some of his findings were included in his article 'Views of Unitarianism from Halley's Comet', TUHS, Vol.18 (1986), pp.180-195. The Unitarian ministry has been specifically excluded (p.17) from K D Brown's statistical study of the origins, training and careers of nonconformist ministers, A social history of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800-1830 (Oxford, 1988).
 59. M Towgood, A calm and plain answer to the inquiry, Why are you a Dissenter? (London, 1772), p.16, quoted in J Hostler, Unitarianism (London, 1981), p.26.
 60. Life, Vol.1, p.7.
 61. J H Thom, 'The Practical Importance of the Unitarian controversy', p.21, in Unitarianism Defended.
 62. See R K Webb, 'The Unitarian Background' in Truth, Liberty, Religion, p.20; and J Goring, in The English Presbyterians, pp.266ff.
 63. J J Tayler, Retrospect, p.431.
 64. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.2, p.109.
 65. Martineau, ERA, Vol.2, p.376.

66. The Inquirer, 24 September 1859, p.869. The same issue (p.861) carried a review of Solly's book Our Presbyterian Forefathers criticising the view that contemporary Unitarians could be equated with 18th century Presbyterians. "The objects our fathers had most at heart are no longer identical with our own".
67. The Inquirer, 23 September 1865.
68. "Though for individual believers definite theological conviction is important to the spiritual life; and for simultaneous fellow-worshippers a corresponding theological sympathy is indispensable, yet it is wrong for permanent Churches to fix their standard of belief, and commit their religious life to the hazards of a specific type of doctrine" (Martineau, ERA, Vol.2, pp.282-3).
69. The Inquirer, 3 September 1859.
70. H Rawson in The Inquirer, 3 September 1859.
71. The Inquirer, 10 September 1859.
72. "I fear that the Unitarian laity will by and bye have to look mainly to themselves for the preservation of their faith" (ibid).
73. The Inquirer, 17 September 1859. The Inquirer boldly put forward its own particular idea of what was meant by the Unitarian church: "Our idea of the divine unity is not the mere numerical oneness which, as Mr Martineau truly asserts, is the Jewish and Mahomedan conception, but a spiritual unity, with which numerical distinctions are utterly incompatible - unity of the divine attributes and perfections, a unity through all the glorious universe He has framed, a unity between his word and his works, the unity of God's children as one great spiritual brotherhood, a unity of the ideal church which we aim to realise and an ultimate unity of all men with the great Father-Spirit. Such is the only Unitarianism which we care to avow and to advocate, and such a Unitarianism seems to us as free and comprehensive, as spiritual and ennobling as our common Christianity". (26 November 1859).
74. During 1846 the correspondence columns of The Inquirer reflected the conflicting claims of the "church" and "chapel" elements within Unitarianism. Edwin Chapman, of Guildford, argued (30 May 1846) that "a common mode of conducting our public worship would be an important instrument of such unity" and proposed the formation of a liturgical committee to investigate possibilities. Another correspondent was astonished that "enlightened Unitarians should ever resort to the use of composed or studied prayers".
75. Quotations from Davies, From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, pp.87-88.
76. Pike, op.cit., p.222.
77. See pp.240ff. of first American edition of Common Prayer (Boston, 1863).
78. Drummond and Upton, op.cit., Vol.2, pp.95-96.
79. Martineau, ND, pp.355 and 358.
80. Baptism Register of New Meeting Chapel, deposited at Birmingham Central Library.
81. He thought his sister Priscilla would disapprove, and told her he thought he was "directed to do it by the Holy Spirit" (Life, Vol.1, p.123), a sentiment more characteristic of Dissent than orthodoxy.
82. Maurice described baptism "as the coming out of the infant under the first influence of a light that had always been shining for it and the world" (Life, Vol.1, p.214), a "light by which it was gradually to be trained to see truths as they were for it and all mankind" (ibid., p.269).

83. R K Webb in The View from the Pulpit, p.219; cf. "There is the great communion of the Lord's Supper in which we lay our hands together on the symbols of self-sacrifice, which is the very essence of our common life in God" (J H Thom, The Preacher and the Church, Liverpool, 1857, p.69).
84. ND, pp.329, 330, 333-4.
85. Christian Reformer, June 1853, pp.455-459.
86. PB, pp.11-12.
87. Christian Reformer, August 1853, pp.518-519.
88. The Inquirer, 1 July 1854.
89. Ibid., 22 July 1854.
90. Ibid., 5 August 1854.
91. Ibid., 2 September 1854.
92. W J Hort to the Frenchay Chapel Congregation, 8 April 1815 (Frenchay Chapel MSS).
93. R Bruce to M Maurice, 8 May 1815.
94. M Maurice to the Frenchay Chapel Congregation, 30 May 1815.
95. M Maurice to the Frenchay Chapel, July 1824.
96. M Maurice to Mr Hobbs, 18 September 1824.
97. R K Webb, in TUHS, Vol.18 (1986), p.188.
98. James Yates, The Character of the Christian Minister, p.8. One of the complaints of the Renshaw Street Chapel committee in Liverpool against its minister George Harris (1821) was that they disapproved of his "habit of frequently delivering old sermons". Ten years later they hesitated to invite the young J H Thom because they had not had more opportunity of hearing him preach. (A D Holt, Walking Together. A study in Liverpool Nonconformity 1688-1938, London 1938, pp.177, 188).
99. Thom, The Preacher and the Church, p.9.
100. ND, p.400.
101. Ibid., p.397. Cf. Solly's own high estimate of the minister's work. At a farewell gathering when he left his church at Cheltenham, he is reported as saying "he would rather have prepared the soul of one child thoroughly for eternity than have filled that chapel from the floor to the ceiling" (The Inquirer, 17 January 1852). This emphasis on individual spiritual care rather than preaching suggests an influence from High Church Anglicanism, or perhaps what Solly had seen of Maurice's work with individuals.
102. "Christianity...is without Priest, and without Ritual", (Martineau, in Unitarianism Defended, p.38).
103. ND, pp.453-454.
104. The Inquirer, 24 January 1852.
105. Ibid., 11 October 1845.
106. Ibid., 28 February 1852. A country minister declared: "With salaries varying from £20 to £30, few realising £100, how can any sane mind expect that our ministers can rightly fulfil their duties in such perilous circumstances" (ibid., 21 February 1852).
107. The Inquirer, 2 August 1845.
108. Solly, These Eighty Years, Vol.2, p.273.
109. Quoted in McClain, Maurice Man and Moralist, p.106.
110. Life, Vol.2, p.446; cf. "Every Churchman about to undergo any trial himself, owns how much rather he would be in the hands of lay judges than of Presbyters and Bishops" (a letter from Maurice to the Spectator, quoted in P Hinchliff, Benjamin Jowett and the Christian Religion, Oxford, 1987, p.68).
111. SCC, p.188.

- 112. Prospective Review, Vol.7 (1851), p.39.
- 113. Life, Vol.2, p.53.
- 114. CD, p.272.
- 115. SCC, p.204.
- 116. KC, Vol.2, p.142.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusion

The foregoing pages have attempted to put F D Maurice's involvement with Unitarianism in perspective historically, biographically and theologically. If it has proved impossible to exactly quantify whatever debt Maurice owes to his Unitarian forebears and contemporaries, then that is surely because the evidence available, though considerable and complex, is nevertheless incomplete. Maurice cannot join us in the study personally to reveal in their fullness the influences that shaped his mind, nor can he sit in the psychiatrist's chair to yield the unconscious longings and promptings of the spirit that drove him on. On the drawing board, an object in space can be exactly represented by its perspective projection, but the perspectivism of this thesis admits that the representation can never be more than approximate. Nonetheless, while we cannot hold Maurice sharply in focus, observing him steadily until he gives up all his secrets, yet the Mauricean edifice seen in historical, biographical and theological perspective reveals solid Unitarian foundations.

Maurice never quotes from Unitarians directly. Sometimes he appears to think along lines similar to Unitarians simply because, like them, he feels the spiritual barrenness of the formal religion of the previous generation. Again he may appear to be influenced by Unitarianism merely because he belongs to a school of which the Cambridge Platonists were common ancestors. His temperament also plays its part. Out of respect for his father he is anxious not to misrepresent Unitarianism, but, as Rowell has pointed out, this respectful concern must not lead us to suppose that his teaching was closer to that of Unitarians than might in

fact be the case.¹ But loyalty to his father does mean that Maurice is inclined to minimise the differences between his own and his father's position and thus they form a crucial part of his beliefs.²

This has not been a study of Maurice under the microscope, but rather an effort to see him, albeit in the distance, from the viewpoint of the times in which he and his father lived, the way their lives developed and overlapped, and how Maurice now reflects, now rejects, his Unitarian heritage. Maurice shared with his father and all Unitarians a basic conviction about the love of God; he was prepared to go (as they were) wherever this fundamental belief might lead. There were concerns which Maurice and his Unitarian contemporaries had in common with other religious thinkers of their generation - an emphasis on incarnation and the humanity of Jesus rather than on atonement, a conviction as to the potential of the whole human race, and a fresh vision of the universal church. Maurice was different in the broad canvas of his thinking from his fellow Anglicans. His own estimate was that his Unitarian upbringing, especially respect for his father's beliefs, gave "more shape" to his life than any other influence.³

Maurice's temperament uneasily combined a conservative attitude to the national church, especially its creeds and articles, with a highly individual account of what its formularies actually meant. Such a temperament made it impossible for him to fit comfortably anywhere - not only were Tractarianism and Evangelicalism closed to him, so too (by his own admission) was Broad Churchmanship. What prevented him from returning to his native Unitarianism was not a lack of courage, but a deep sense of personal sin that could be satisfied only by faith in a

personal redeemer. Thus his intellect burst at the theological seams, while his emotional needs held him fast to a relatively dogmatic faith. What emerges when the principal elements of his theology are examined is roughly this. When he is concerned with the broad sweep of theology - the doctrine of God, the concept of universal unity, eternal life and the idea of fellowship with the Creator - Maurice finds himself in general agreement with Unitarians. But when religion comes home, when it begins to touch Maurice's inner yearnings and unsatisfied desires, when his "experiences of inward evil" have to be faced, then Unitarianism is found wanting. Maurice's Christ has to be more than the Unitarian "emblem of God", the atonement has to be more than mere good naturedness on the part of the Father, and the mechanics of salvation - the church, and the sacraments of baptism and communion - need for Maurice a ring of certainty that he never found in his father's chapels or the sermons of Martineau.

None of F D Maurice's Anglican contemporaries equalled his extensive knowledge of Unitarianism nor set out so deliberately to understand what its adherents taught. Some Anglicans thought Unitarianism intolerable. In 1850 Edward White Benson, a future archbishop of Canterbury but then an undergraduate at Cambridge, found it impossible to entrust his orphaned younger brother to the care of a wealthy Unitarian uncle - even though it was agreed that the child would go to a church school and not be instructed in Unitarian principles.⁴ Unitarian ministers could be excluded from hospital chaplaincies,⁵ their relatives denied burial in Anglican churchyards.⁶ The Church of England clergy, whether of the powerful Evangelical wing or among the increasing number of Tractarians, rigidly denied that Unitarians could be members of the Christian church,

and their admission to an Anglican communion service could be regarded as "a gross profanation of the Sacrament".⁷ Only a handful of those who became known as Broad Churchmen adopted a more sympathetic view. Thomas Arnold, for example, felt that among Unitarians were many who might be able to join the Church of England if "our present terms of communion" could be altered, and he would have admitted Arians into the Anglican communion.⁸ Arnold's illustrious pupil Arthur Stanley was an early sympathiser with Unitarians: "They are, I think, excluded from the outward Catholic Church as a body but their individual members are not from the Communion of Saints".⁹ Bishop Colenso numbered several Unitarians among his friends including Martineau, Lant and Mary Carpenter and J J Tayler. Colenso's reading of Martineau's sermons Endeavours after the Christian Life greatly facilitated his development from Evangelicalism to a more liberal position¹⁰ and Colenso's writings, in turn, were welcomed by Unitarians.¹¹ F W Robertson was greatly influenced by Martineau and by the American Unitarians, Parker, Emerson and Channing.¹² H B Wilson proposed in his Bampton Lectures of 1851 a church in which every man would be allowed to exercise his own reason, so long as it did not provoke controversy. Unitarians were attracted by his view that a national church need not "be tied down to particular forms which have been prevalent at certain times in Christendom".¹³ Benjamin Jowett was a friend of Frances Cobbe and admired her work, and in turn The Inquirer commended his "earnestness and goodness" but was puzzled by his continued membership of the Church of England.¹⁴ J R Beard thought Jowett's contribution to Essays and Reviews "wonderfully corroborative of our Unitarian position".¹⁵ But the major difference between Maurice and those of his Anglican contemporaries who sympathised with Unitarians is that while their thinking might occasionally reflect

a Unitarian point of view, and their reformed church might include Unitarians, in Maurice's case Unitarianism attracts him from the cradle to the grave as a conceivable though not ultimately satisfying spiritual life style. Sometimes he incorporates a Unitarian insight into his own teaching, sometimes he explicitly refutes it, but its influence is pervasive even when it is not persuasive.

Maurice's personal quest for something more adequate to his spiritual needs than he could find in Unitarianism led him to the Church of England, and to a belief that God in Jesus has descended into the world of misery "to bring the victims of it into the home of peace from which they have wandered".¹⁶ Elizabeth, Mary and Anne Maurice on becoming members of mainstream Christian churches turned their backs on Unitarianism aggressively and entirely. Maurice could not join his elder sisters, nor could he range himself alongside Evangelicals and High Churchmen in repudiating Unitarianism. He needed to embrace his father and heal a divided family. Throughout his life Maurice was concerned for his father's spiritual welfare. So gently does he deal with Unitarianism that "we do not find he is able to say anything harsh of his most inveterate opponent" as a Unitarian reviewer noted.¹⁷ We have seen in Chapter Five how Unitarians could feel at home in his Lincoln's Inn congregation and listen to his sermons with pleasure. This arose from his lifelong desire to communicate spiritually with his father and to bridge the gulfs that divided his family, compelling him to search for those truths in Unitarianism which could form part of his own creed. The inevitable tension in his life and teaching did not go unnoticed in Unitarian reviews of Maurice's books. The Prospective Review felt that in his Theological Essays Maurice had treated Unitarians "with more

courtesy and entered with more sympathy into their faith, than they have ever before received at the hands of English orthodoxy".¹⁸ But, said The Inquirer, in wanting "to combine the reputation of orthodoxy" with dissent he had been forced into "non-natural interpretations"¹⁹ and The Christian Reformer wished he might have "an honourable and speedy deliverance".²⁰ The National Review believed he had put his own interpretation on the Thirty Nine Articles "instead of taking out of them that which they were intended to yield".²¹ The Prospective Review looked in vain for Maurice's principle of harmony and wished that he were free from the necessity of reconciling the intuitions of his own spirit with any fixed position.²²

A modern Anglican critic suggests that Maurice's attempt to harmonise conflicting views of religious truth on the assumption that opposites are in fact complementary aspects of one truth, has effectively redefined such terms as 'Catholic' or 'Protestant' so as to remove from them all controversial content. Maurice does not demonstrate to the satisfaction of Stephen Sykes that the contradictory beliefs held by various schools and individuals in the Church of England are in some mysterious way reconcilable, produce completeness of truth, and are therefore acceptable.²³ Yet, as Olive Brose maintains, Maurice did not join the Church of England because he believed Anglicanism provided a via media between extremes, but because he genuinely believed it embraced the positive gifts of both Catholicism and Protestantism, but was free from what he saw as the impairments caused by their denials.²⁴ In Maurice's idealised church there simply were no contradictions. The old Unitarians had looked back nostalgically to Richard Baxter's vision of a catholic church embracing the whole nation and regretted that the passing centuries had left that vision unfulfilled. In F D Maurice's highly

personal account of the Church of England something of that Presbyterian/Unitarian ideal was offered to the people of England. It proved an attractive proposition for several Unitarian ministers who, under Maurice's influence became Anglicans. They included Crompton, who had succeeded Michael Maurice at Frenchay, and Joseph and Richard Hutton. Two other members of leading Unitarian families, Travers Madge and Philip Carpenter, also left the Unitarian ministry in the mid-century to join the Church of England. Unitarianism provided the seedbed for Maurice's faith but his romantic view of the nation as an organic whole with specific characteristics convinced him that the future of Christianity in England lay not with dissent but with the ancient church of the land. But as a reviewer in the Christian Reformer realised, the problem was that Maurice's theology "departs from the recognised standards of his own church".²⁵ Maurice may have felt that it was possible to contain the positive principles of Unitarianism within the Church of England, but Unitarians themselves thought that this incongruous mixture of spiritual Christianity and dogmatic theology was impossible.²⁶

Nevertheless, this attempt by Maurice to accommodate the positive insights of Unitarianism within the doctrine of the Church of England has not directly contributed to the rise in contemporary English religious thought of that new kind of Anglican Unitarianism with which the names of Geoffrey Lampe and Maurice Wiles have been associated. F D Maurice was emphatically a Trinitarian. His conviction as to the truth of the incarnation, his Christocentric theology, makes it impossible to conceive of him as a channel of explicitly non-Trinitarian belief. One must first go along the path of Christological reductionism if one is eventually to dispose of Trinitarian doctrine, and Maurice nowhere discards Christ. For Maurice the "inner life" of the Divine Being, who is Father, Son and

Holy Spirit, is itself the key to God's relationship with humanity. Maurice may be in danger of visualising the internal relations of the Holy Trinity as in some sense concrete or external. There is always the danger of tri-theism whenever the social analogy is applied to the Godhead and it is necessary to remind ourselves that this is only an idea about how God loves eternally within Himself. Maurice never hesitated to speak of the eternal subordination of the Son to the Father "the will of a father commanding" and "the will of a son submitting" exist eternally within the nature of God.²⁷ Michael Maurice was an Arian, holding that Christ occupies a secondary place in the divine hierarchy, and it is possibly this that inclined Maurice to hold strongly to the idea of Christ's subordination to the Father. Maurice visualises the Father and the Son in very personal terms, but the uniting Spirit, the bond of love, is conceived far less substantially, which may be due to a negative influence - the absence of a theology of the Holy Spirit in Unitarianism. Maurice's upbringing had given him a clear picture of God transcendent, and his need for a personal saviour led to a belief in God immanent; but he has little to say about the nature of the third person of the Holy Trinity, or how the Spirit is related to the Father and the Son. Nevertheless, it is Maurice's deep conviction about the self-relatedness of God Who is Will and Word bonded in self-sacrificing love (that is, Holy Spirit) which makes him a Trinitarian, and not a binitarian. Maurice's principal concern is to affirm that Christ's life and sacrificial death are not to be regarded as an outstanding human achievement, nor accidental to the character of God, but are constitutive of what God is ultimately and eternally in Himself.²⁸ This was probably why, when they read his Theological Essays, Unitarians found it difficult to trace "a real spiritual distinction between the relation of the two

divine persons" (Father and Son).²⁹ The Christian Reformer went even further, and maintained that Maurice had totally failed to establish his case for the Trinity.³⁰ Apparently, Maurice felt no difficulty in distinguishing between the personal influence upon his heart of the Father or of the Son, but his powerful sense of immediate communion with the Divine left little space for any specific work of the Holy Spirit.

Martineau did not ask for any such distinction: "The Holy Spirit within us, the spirit of Christ, and the spirit of God, are after all but one".³¹ Lampe admits finding distinction difficult, and his view that we do not need "the model of a descent of a pre-existent divine person"³² to interpret God's saving work in Jesus separates him from Maurice, who believed that the descent of the Son of God (that is, the involvement of God with man in terms of incarnation) was exactly what was needed if he was to be convinced that God was in much deeper sympathy with mankind than Unitarians believed. Lampe's conviction that "the unifying concept of God as Spirit"³³ is a more satisfactory way of articulating Christian experience than the Trinitarian model places him firmly in the mid-Victorian Unitarian camp, so that one might have expected to find somewhere in his Bampton Lectures an acknowledgement of the Unitarian contribution to the debate.³⁴

Maurice Wiles too has a direct spiritual ancestor in James Martineau rather than in F D Maurice. Wiles suggests that Christ historically focuses belief in "a God who cares" but that the particular doctrine of His unique incarnation is not required for the whole pattern of belief to be true.³⁵ For Martineau, Christ's revelation of "the living and ever living filial relation of the soul to God, and its ultimate self-harmony

by absolute self-sacrifice" is essential Christianity.³⁶ His protest that possession "of the Christian name" should not depend on the acceptance of particular theories about the person of Christ anticipates the view of Wiles that there are questions (especially Christological ones) that "do not need to be answered in order to safeguard the religious realities of Christian faith".³⁷ Wiles and Martineau must therefore part company with Maurice, who insists that things must be said about the nature of Jesus Christ if what He said and did are to be recognised as anchored in the nature of God.³⁸

In conclusion, let us look at a few areas where Maurice has been a channel for a Unitarian contribution to contemporary religious thought.

a. Maurice's emphasis on the incarnation rather than on the atonement, or more precisely, incarnation as revealing the purpose of God in creation and redemption, is related to his Unitarian experience. Firstly, Unitarianism involves a steady emphasis on the humanity of Jesus, which develops from Priestley's insistence on the human nature of the Messiah to Martineau's view that the incarnation is true of mankind inclusively and not of Jesus exclusively. Secondly, Unitarian rejection of the doctrine of original sin resulted in a fresh evaluation of the worth of human nature. This was a crucial corrective of the Calvinist expectation of "enduring wretchedness and woe" held by the young Maurice, and facilitated his mature view that the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ revealed the nature of man as well as of God. Thirdly, Maurice's reaction to the Unitarian spirituality he experienced as a child and young man aroused in him a deep sense of need for some assurance of God's involvement in and sympathy with mankind, which belief in the Word

Incarnate supplied. Much contemporary thinking, stressing the identification of the Creator with His suffering world, has recalled our attention to Maurice's insistence that God-in-Christ sacrifices Himself for the sake of humanity. Unitarianism then, which historically denies the incarnation, paradoxically helped to mould Maurice as an incarnational theologian. In turn he prepared the ground for the contributors to Lux Mundi (1889), which has as its organising theme incarnation as the key to the Christian religion. Paul Avis has recently indicated the influence of Maurice on the Lux Mundi contributors J R Illingworth and Arthur Lyttelton.³⁹ Brian Hebblethwaite, an avowedly incarnational theologian, has drawn attention to works by Moltmann, Torrance, von Balthasar and Jungel which confirm the central place of incarnational categories in contemporary Christian thought.⁴⁰ But, as Rowan Williams reminds us in a recent essay, incarnation is not about the mechanics of Jesus' conception; its full weight is in the context of conversion and judgement.⁴¹ Maurice's criticism of the separation of incarnation and judgement is made with equal force:

"The greatest temptation possible to human beings (is)...to think of Me as a judge sitting upon some exalted seat like that on which the lords of the earth sit, and not to think of Me as the Judge who looks down into the depth of every spring and principle of action, into the very inmost heart of society".⁴²

b. Maurice's concern with Divine Unity and his search for a Centre to which the whole range of human activity is organically related and by which it is inspired had its roots in his Unitarian experience.⁴³ Maurice came to believe that man according to his original constitution is related to Christ Who is the Centre of union. Grasping that truth, he felt he "was in union with every man, however he might differ from me, and that I had nothing good in me but what belongs equally to him".⁴⁴ This freed him to give his attention to the positive aspects of other

denominations and even other faiths, in principle if not in practice, since he often found himself in conflict with those he sought to reconcile. Nevertheless, Maurice's constructive method of approaching inter-church relations has had a profound influence on subsequent ecumenical efforts.

c. Unitarian insistence on the character of God as a Loving Father was carried over by Maurice into Anglicanism and consolidated with his Catholic heritage. Fatherhood became a unifying thread in Maurice's theology, revealing that mankind, constituted in the Son of God, is a family meant not for competition but for co-operation. Maurice explored this theme throughout his life until theology became for him the recognition of a "righteous will, a fatherly will as the ground of us and of the universe".⁴⁵ Thus, as Maurice's Methodist disciple John Scott Lidgett pointed out, Maurice creates a spiritual wholeness which draws together a Calvinist view of God's transcendence, a Unitarian view of His beneficence and a Christian Platonist view of Fatherhood as the 'universal ground'.⁴⁶ In this century, the principle of God's Fatherhood which Maurice defended has had to meet the claims of His 'otherness' as put forward in the works of Rudolf Otto and Karl Barth, and views of God as 'ground of being' as in the work of Paul Tillich. Maurice can help us grasp the paradox between an understanding of God who combines love and wrath, patience with His creation and anger because of what men do with His gifts. We are encouraged by Maurice to seek for more than one image of God so that we do not come to think that any one image is wholly God: our faith, Maurice suggests, is a power of recognition, not of constitution. Maurice's belief in the majesty and nearness of God, both rooted in his Unitarian experience, provide a way forward as we try to understand how Almighty God is graciously related to His creation.

NOTES

1. Rowell, op.cit., p.76.
2. Cf. SM, p.27: "The son whose opinions are most unlike his father's has often learnt most from him; in his latest years he probably discovers how much the father's authority has helped to mould the very convictions which appear to separate them".
3. Life, Vol.1, p.13.
4. A C Benson, The life of Edward White Benson, (London 1900), Vol.1, pp.87-88.
5. The Inquirer, 17 December 1859; the reference is to a dispute concerning Swansea Infirmary.
6. The Inquirer, 9 August 1845; William Vidler's sister was refused burial alongside a relative in Gatcombe parish churchyard.
7. R E Prothero, The Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (London 1893), Vol.2, p.217. Stanley had permitted the Revd Dr Vance Smith, a Unitarian minister, to receive Holy Communion at Westminster Abbey. Maurice was delighted that Stanley had done so (Life, Vol.2, p.617).
8. T Arnold, Principles of Church Reform (4th edition, 1833), pp.36 and 96. J R Beard (Unitarianism Exhibited, p.v) felt that Arnold's sermons were "a striking proof of the extent to which the old ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity has gone to decay".
9. Prothero, op.cit., Vol.1, p.116. Following Stanley's death, an editorial in The Inquirer (23 July 1881) observed: "It has often been difficult to comprehend how Dr Stanley, whose theological opinions were of the least dogmatic and most catholic character, could remain in a church which, with all its undoubted merits, is one of the most dogmatic and exclusive in Christendom".
10. G W Cox, Life of Bishop Colenso (London 1889), Vol.2, pp.39-40.
11. One Unitarian writer observed "Few nobler words have been expounded for many a day than those with which the Bishop expounds the purport of his work and the scope of his ambition". (F P Cobbe, Broken Lights: An Inquiry into the Present Condition and Future Prospects of Religious Faith, (London 1864), p.114.
12. See J Hoatson, "James Martineau and Frederick Robertson" in The Expositor (Vol.8, 1903), pp.217-218; S A Brooke, Life and Letters of Frederick W Robertson (London 1865), Vol.2, pp.145 and 171; F Arnold, Robertson of Brighton (London 1886), p.302.
13. See Wilson's essay on the national church in Essays and Reviews (5th edition, London, 1861, p.180). On Wilson, see 'H B Wilson and the National Church' in M A Crowther, Church Embattled: Religious Controversy in Mid-Victorian England (Newton Abbot 1970), pp.107-126; Ieuan Ellis examines the sources of Wilson's views in Seven against Christ: A study of 'Essays and Reviews' (Leiden 1980), pp.72-73.
14. The Inquirer, 14 October 1893.
15. Christian Reformer, October 1860.
16. KH, pp.158-159.
17. Christian Reformer, Vol.10 (1854), p.32.
18. Prospective Review, Vol.9 (1853), p.598.
19. The Inquirer, 12 November 1853.
20. Christian Reformer, (1854), p.43.
21. National Review, (1861), p.167.
22. Prospective Review, Vol.7 (1851), pp.27-28.
23. S W Sykes, The Integrity of Anglicanism (London 1978), pp.16-20;

Sykes reflects an earlier Unitarian view when he says (p.35) that "'the church' of Maurice was a paper church, a figment of his imagination and not the Church of England, where men had the right to call contradiction by its proper name".

24. O Brose, F D Maurice, Rebellious Conformist (Ohio, USA, 1971), p.280.
25. Christian Reformer (1854), p.33.
26. Cf. the view of Otto Pfleiderer that "the strong national feeling of the Englishman had got the better of the intellect of the theologian" (The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant and its progress in Great Britain since 1825, London 1890, p.378, quoted in Vidler, Theology of F D Maurice, p.213).
27. GJ, p.158. Cf. "The Almighty Father commands because the Son obeys, and the Son obeys because the Father commands" (CD, p.160); "If the idea of subordination in the Son to the Father...is once lost sight of...the morality of the Gospel and its divinity disappear together" (TE, p.79).
28. Cf. Wolfhart Pannenberg: "To speak of a contrast between Father and Son within the Godhead has a figurative, symbolic sense. It is justified only in the fact that Jesus' relation to the God of Israel as his 'Father' belongs to the essence of this God himself, just as does the person of Jesus of Nazareth, insofar as he is revealed in Jesus. God's essence as it is revealed in the Christ event thus contains within itself the twofoldness, the tension, and the relation of Father and Son". (Jesus - God and Man, London, 1968, p.159).
29. Prospective Review, Vol.9, (1853), p.579.
30. Christian Reformer (1854), pp.38-39.
31. Endeavours after the Christian Life, p.312.
32. G Lampe, God as Spirit (Oxford 1977), p.33.
33. Ibid., p.228.
34. Lampe, for example, says: "Wherever God's active presence moves and informs the spirit of man by evoking his free co-operation, there is, in some measure, an incarnation of deity, a union of Spirit with spirit, of God with man...In Jesus alone man's reluctance was fully overcome. In him the indwelling of God was complete, and man's spirit, human personality, was perfected". ('The Essence of Christianity - IV A Personal View' in Expository Times, February, 1976, p.136). Cf. Martineau: "I know not whether others can draw a sharp line of separation between the human spirit and the Divine, and can clearly say, where their own soul ends and God's communion begins...if, in Christ, this divine margin was not simply broader than elsewhere, but spread till it covered the whole soul...then was God not merely represented...but personally there" (Hours), Vol.2, p.205).
35. M Wiles, The Remaking of Christian Doctrine (London, 1974), pp.117-118.
36. ND, pp.216-217.
37. Wiles, op.cit., p.123. The Unitarian scholar Arthur Long suggests that The Myth of God Incarnate (1976), to which Professor Wiles contributed, "contains one of the best statements of the Unitarian case against Christology ever to appear in a 'mainstream' publication" despite almost totally ignoring Unitarianism's historic contribution (Fifty Years of Theology 1928-1978: The Vindication of Liberalism, London, 1978).
38. Maurice is concerned to affirm that what we see in Jesus, God is in

- Himself. Cf. D M MacKinnon "The doctrine of the Trinity (is) the effort so to reconstruct the doctrine of God that this 'descent' may be seen as supremely, even paradigmatically, declaratory of what He is in himself" ('The relation of the Doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity' in R W A McKinney, editor, Creation, Christ and Culture: Studies in honour of T F Torrance, Edinburgh 1976, p.102).
39. Paul Avis on 'The Atonement' in G. Wainwright (editor) Keeping the Faith: Essays to mark the Centenary of Lux Mundi (London, 1989), p.137
 40. B Hebblethwaite, The Incarnation - Collected Essays in Christology (Cambridge, 1987), pp.39-43.
 41. R Williams, 'The Incarnation as the Basis of Dogma', in R Morgan (editor), The Religion of the Incarnation (Bristol, 1989), pp.85-98).
 42. UNT, p.125.
 43. Life, Vol.2, pp.388, 515.
 44. DS, p.xx.
 45. SM, p.42.
 46. J S Lidgett, The Victorian Transformation of Theology (London 1934), p.42.

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